# THE BILINGUAL DOUBLE STANDARD: MAINSTREAM AMERICANS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BILINGUALISM

A Dissertation
submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Georgetown University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

Nancy Faber Zelasko, B.S., M.S.

Washington, DC
November 22, 1991

# GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
## GRADUATE SCHOOL

The dissertation of Nancy F. Zelasko entitled

The Bilingual Double Standard: Mainstream Americans' Attitudes Toward Bilingualism

submitted to the department of Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Georgetown University has been read and approved by the Committee:

Roger W. Shuy

James E. Alatis

Ann Clark

Head of Department

February 28, 1992
Date

ABSTRACT

THE BILINGUAL DOUBLE STANDARD:
MAINSTREAM AMERICANS' ATTITUDES TOWARD BILINGUALISM

Author: Nancy Faber Zelasko

Mentor: Roger W. Shuy

Mainstream Americans appear to hold a double standard with regard to the value of bilingualism. On the one hand, knowledge of a second or foreign language is considered an asset for native English-speakers in the United States. On the other hand, one senses that mainstream Americans do not consider bilingualism desirable for those whose native language is not English.

This study examines how the United States has dealt with the concept of bilingualism throughout its history. It focuses on education as a reflection of the language attitudes of mainstream Americans toward bilingualism for two different groups: native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English. Using the content analysis of societal treatment method, the study infers language attitudes from the public treatment English and other languages have received throughout the history of the United States, including official and unofficial language policies, educational policies regarding the use of English and other languages as media of instruction and as content areas; and social policies affecting speakers of languages other than English. Additional data are

provided by seven national public opinion polls.

The study concludes that a "bilingual double standard" does, in fact, exist and that it is a manifestation of a particular underlying language ideology held by mainstream Americans. In tracing how the social history of the United States has contributed to the development of this ideology, the study proposes distinct historical periods in which attitudes toward bilingualism have changed, and identifies causes for these shifts in attitudes. The study concludes that throughout the history of the United States, with the exception of times of world conflict, there has been an inverse relationship between positive attitudes toward bilingualism for native English-speakers and positive attitudes toward bilingualism for non-native English-speakers (i.e., support vs. opposition or disinterest). The study discusses the future of bilingualism in the United States, including both foreign language instruction and bilingual education, in light of the attitudes held by mainstream Americans.

# PREFACE

This dissertation and degree bring to a close an academic and professional relationship with Georgetown University which has spanned many years. I am gratified that I had the opportunity to study at this institution and that I have had a chance to watch my chosen field, sociolinguistics, make the significant contributions it has to the study of linguistics. During my association with Georgetown University, I have come to know and respect many of the faculty and staff, but perhaps none so much as the three persons who have served on my dissertation committee. Each in his or her own way, has made a contribution to my academic and professional careers at Georgetown. Dr. James E. Alatis -- as my Dean, my boss, and now one of my readers -- has always been supportive of my efforts and has provided considerable encouragement and support throughout the years. I have greatly admired the work of Dr. Anna Uhl Chamot and am honored to have had her serve as one of my readers. Dr. Roger Shuy, as my mentor and my professor, has inspired and challenged me in a way that no other professor ever has. It is he who taught me the "human" side of linguistics (and linguists); who led me to want to pursue the study of language and society; and who instilled in me a belief that sociolinguists can contribute to improving our society, a belief that has guided me throughout my career in the field of bilingual education.

I would like to express my appreciation to my parents, Robert and Elaine Faber,

for making it possible for me to obtain my Bachelor's and Master's degrees from Georgetown. They have, throughout my academic career and particularly during my Ph.D. studies, been the greatest cheerleaders anyone could have. Both at Georgetown University and at the National Association for Bilingual Education, my co-workers and bosses -- Ramón Santiago and James Lyons -- have also been extraordinarily understanding and supportive.

No one, however, has made a greater contribution or needs to be acknowledged more than my husband Joe. He has never wavered in his support of my professional career or my decision to return to school. He has made countless sacrifices on my behalf and has never complained about the inconveniences, which have been many. Without him, completing this degree would not have been possible.

Finally, I want to acknowledge the many people throughout the country who believe in bilingual education and with whom I have worked over the years. They have taught me to appreciate other languages and cultures and to believe in the value of bilingualism for everyone. I hope that in some small way this study can further their efforts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

# CHAPTER 1

## STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Mainstream Americans appear to hold a double standard with regard to the value of bilingualism. The phrase "bilingual double standard" is borrowed from Kjolseth (1983:4), who said of this phenomenon: "On the surface, at least, we appear schizophrenic in both word and deed when it comes to the issue of bilingualism."

On the one hand, knowledge of a second or foreign language is considered an asset for native English-speakers in the United States. Knowledge of a foreign language, particularly one of the world languages, has always been considered a sign of being "cultured." Foreign language study has always been an essential component of the education of society's elite. There has been a consistent recommendation in the educational reform movement begun in the 1980s that there be increased and earlier study of foreign languages. For example, one of the six national education goals established at the 1989 Education Summit between the President and the nation's fifty governors was a call for increased ability to communicate with other nations and understand other cultures. The report on the Summit called for "substantially increasing the number of students competent in more than one language" (Draper 1991:4).

As a result, in recent years, federal legislation has been passed encouraging the establishment of foreign language programs in the public schools and requirements for

foreign language study have been reinstituted for graduation from many secondary schools and colleges. An increasing number of school districts have begun foreign language immersion programs, the goal of which is bilingualism for native English-speaking students. Most recently, a number of states, including New York and North Carolina, have instituted foreign language instruction requirements for all students in the elementary grades.

On the other hand, one senses that mainstream Americans do not consider bilingualism desirable for those whose native language is not English. Recent movements to amend the Constitution to make English the official language of the United States, along with other activities of organizations such as U.S. ENGLISH, reflect increasing opposition to language minority populations in the United States who seek to continue to speak their native languages in addition to speaking English. This view is most clearly reflected in federal policy toward the education of linguistic minority children, which endorses a transitional bilingual education approach -- an approach that has the goal of monolingualism in English for non-native English-speaking children (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981:131).

At the present time, the United States is facing two serious situations which are related to the issue of bilingualism, one demographic and the other economic. The first is the increasing number of ethnic and linguistic minority populations in the country. 1990 Census figures document dramatic growth on the part of ethnic minorities.

Between 1980 and 1990, the number of Americans who identified themselves as being of Asian or Pacific Island background more than doubled (a 107.6% increase), rising from 3.5 million to 7.3 million. The Hispanic population grew from 14.6 million to 23.4 million (a 53% increase) and the number of American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts is now 1.9 million, an increase of 37.9%. During the same time period, the total United States population increased by only 9.8%, with the white population growing by 6% and the Black population increasing by 13.2% (Lyons 1991:11). It is estimated that by the year 2020, Hispanics will become the second largest population group in the United States (McNett 1983:7). Demographic projections indicate that by the year 2000, 53 major cities will have majority *minority* populations. In addition, the United States is presently receiving the second largest wave of immigrants in its history. Between 1980 and 1990 alone, an estimated eight million immigrants (both legal and undocumented) came to the United States from non-English speaking countries (Vobejda 1991:A8).

Figures from the 1990 Census regarding the language background of persons residing in the United States will not be released until 1992. The 1980 Census, however, found 23.1 million people who speak languages other than English in their homes. An additional nine million people lived in homes where a language other than English was spoken. Furthermore, there were 2.6 million children under the age of five, one or both of whose parents spoke a language other than English. That brought the total language minority population in 1980 to 34.6 million out of a total United States population of

226.5 million (Waggoner 1988:69). Given the data regarding the dramatic growth of ethnic populations already released in the 1990 Census, it is clear that the linguistic minority population in the United States is significantly larger in 1990 than it was in 1980. The changing demographics of the country have serious implications for language use in the United States and the future of bilingualism.

The second situation the United States is facing with regard to bilingualism is the decline of the position of this country as a world economic leader and its inability to deal both on a diplomatic and a national security level with other countries in the world. In his book, *The Tongue-Tied American*, Senator Paul Simon notes that while there are approximately 10,000 English-speaking Japanese salesmen in New York City, there are only approximately 1,000 American salesmen in all of Japan, few of whom speak Japanese (Simon 1980:5). Unfortunately, few American businessmen can speak any language other than English. When United States companies have so little linguistic expertise that they do as General Motors did and try to market an automobile in Latin America by the name of "*Nova*" ("*no va*" means "*it doesn't go*" in Spanish), it is no wonder that the United States is losing in the foreign market.

Inability to function in languages other than English also has serious implications for national security. The State Department does not require proficiency in any language other than English as a condition for being hired by the U.S. Foreign Service (Simon 1980:4). Few United States embassy personnel can speak the language of the country

in which they are stationed. When the hostages were taken at the United States Embassy in Iran, only one of them was proficient in Farsi. In negotiations with other countries, representatives of the United States must often rely upon translators provided by the other country. When American translators do participate, their limited command of other languages can lead to problems. There are many stories about instances like the one that took place in Poland when President Carter said, "I wish to learn your opinions and understand your desires for the future" and it was translated as "I desire the Poles carnally" (Simon 1980:9). One can only imagine how many more sensitive diplomatic negotiations have been jeopardized by incompetent American translators and interpreters.

Despite the fact that the United States has millions of citizens whose native languages are other than English, these persons are not seen as a national resource that could be developed to deal with these serious situations. Instead, mainstream Americans continue to support foreign language programs for native English-speakers which have been shown to fail to produce people who are sufficiently bilingual to be able to conduct business or diplomatic negotiations in other languages. The Defense Language Institute program, for example, requires 47 weeks of 35 hours of instruction a week to make native English-speakers proficient at the 2 or 2+ level on the United States Government Interagency Language Round Table Oral Proficiency Interview scale. At this proficiency level one can handle routine social demands and nontechnical work conversations, be intelligible despite a significant accent, but not have a thorough control of grammar.

When non-native English-speaking children enter kindergarten, they already have "a higher level of language mastery than the average graduate of the intensive and expensive 47-week Defense Language Institute program" (Lyons 1990:79). But mainstream Americans still support policies which prohibit these non-native speakers of English, who have the potential to become truly bilingual, from continuing to develop their native language skills in addition to learning English.

The distinction in types of bilingualism which appear to be reflected in the attitudes of mainstream Americans has been described in a number of ways by different scholars: *popular vs. elite bilingualism*, *natural vs. learned bilingualism*, and *group vs. individual bilingualism*.

Andersson (1976:497) describes *popular bilingualism* as "the uncultivated use of two languages" and *elite bilingualism* as "the cultivated use of two languages." García (1985:147) describes *natural bilingualism* as resulting from a situation where "the second language is acquired naturally when two languages come into contact" and *learned bilingualism* resulting when "the second language is learned in a formal situation such as schools."

Kjolseth (1983:46) makes a distinction between *group* and *individual bilingualism* and describes mainstream Americans' perceptions of bilingualism as follows:

> American society commonly views group bilinguals as persons from the lower, less advantaged strata of our society, individuals who become bilingual by adding a common variety of vernacular English to their non-English mother tongue. We see them as acquiring their English from

> peers and family in everyday informal settings while quite young, when it is said to be easier. Believing that their English is used for mundane concerns out of the simple need to get by in a society where English is dominant, we view them as persons with limited English language skills of a low variety who are burdened by their non-English mother tongue. Our simplified image of the origin of group bilingualism is that it is picked up on the streets out of necessity.
>
> We usually imagine individual bilinguals as persons from the higher and more advantaged social classes who add to their English mother tongue a formal, standard variety of a foreign language as a result of time spent with a special teacher in a foreign language classroom in school. Individual bilinguals are thought to be older than group bilinguals when they acquire the second language, thus performing a more difficult feat. We think of individual bilinguals using their second language for matters of high culture (e.g., literary classics) in order to broaden their formal education. We see them as being aided and elevated by their bilingualism. Simplified, the image of individual bilingualism is that it is acquired in school by choice.

Kjolseth (1983:42) notes that "the curious element in the perceived deviance of bilingualism is its evaluation in a polar, bivalent manner by scholars, policy makers, and ordinary citizens. All of them disparage group bilingualism in one breath and praise individual bilingualism in the next -- and, most interestingly, with no apparent sense of contradiction."

Haugen points out that monolinguals have both very positive and very negative attitudes toward bilinguals. "If the bilingual is college educated, a member of the middle or upper class, and speaks both languages without an accent, monolinguals are impressed by the ability to speak two languages and by the ease with which the person switches from one to another. But if the bilingual is an immigrant worker who speaks the dominant language with a strong accent or is a child adapting slowly to a totally

monolingual school, then monolinguals refer to 'semilingualism' and to the apparent dangers of bilingualism" (Haugen 1972 cited in Grosjean 1984: 273-274).

The language attitudes of mainstream Americans are of interest to both sociolinguists and educators. The purpose of this study is to examine how the United States has dealt with the concept of bilingualism throughout its history. In an identification of historical sources of foreign language usage in the United States, Heath (1977:35) notes that few studies directly address "the alternative methods of maintaining foreign languages throughout the nation's history, and the relationship of these methods to broader questions of social and national membership." This study will attempt to do so by focusing on education as a reflection of the language attitudes of mainstream Americans toward bilingualism for two different groups: native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English. It will attempt to determine if a "bilingual double standard" exists and, if it does, the extent to which it is a manifestation of a particular underlying language ideology held by mainstream Americans. Part of this study will trace how the social history of the United States has contributed to the development of this ideology. It will also demonstrate that there are distinct historical periods in which attitudes toward bilingualism have changed, and identify causes for these shifts in attitudes. One hypothesis to be tested is that throughout the history of the United States, with the exception of times of world conflict, there has been an inverse relationship between positive attitudes toward bilingualism for native English-speakers and positive

attitudes toward bilingualism for non-native English speakers (i.e., support vs. opposition or disinterest). The study will examine (1) present day attitudes toward English as the official language of the United States and (2) educational policies regarding foreign language instruction and bilingual education. It will also discuss the future of bilingualism in the United States.

# CHAPTER 2

## METHODOLOGY

The views held by mainstream Americans toward bilingualism are of interest to sociolinguists because these views reflect language attitudes. Language attitudes, as defined by Ferguson (1972 cited in Cooper and Fishman 1974:6), are "elicitable shoulds on who speaks what, when, and how." Cooper and Fishman (1974:6) have amplified the referent to "include language, language behavior and referents of which language or language behavior is a marker or symbol. Thus, attitudes toward a language, or toward a feature of a language, or toward language use, or toward language as a group marker are all examples of language attitudes."

This study is a historical research study which "involves the investigation of past events for the purpose of understanding past and present and, to some extent, anticipating the future" (Long et al 1985:176). The focus of the study is the attitudes of mainstream Americans toward bilingualism. Mainstream Americans are those members of the dominant group in American society; those who hold power. They typically are native speakers of English who have little or no ethnic identification other than "American."

Two different types of bilingualism will be considered in this study: (1) bilingualism resulting from a native English-speaker's learning of a second or foreign language and (2) bilingualism resulting from a non-native English-speaker's learning

English and maintaining the native language. Based on Rokeach's definition of attitudes as predispositions to act (Rokeach 1986:113), the attitudes of mainstream Americans can then be inferred from actions taken regarding language policy, immigration policy, and educational policy throughout history. As stated by St. Clair (1982:164), "To understand fully how language attitudes develop, it may be necessary to reach back into the past and investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation."

Traditionally, language attitude research has employed two different techniques: direct measurement and indirect measurement. Direct measurement of language attitudes involves the use of a series of direct questions, in the form of either written questionnaires or oral interviews, which ask for the subjects' opinions about aspects of one or more languages. This method focuses on people's beliefs and may ask questions about "language evaluation, language preference, desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups who use a particular variety, self-reports concerning language use, desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education, and opinions concerning shifting or maintaining language policies" (Ryan et al 1982:7).

Indirect methods of measuring language attitudes are "designed to keep the subject from knowing that her language attitudes are being investigated" (Fasold 1984:149). These methods infer language attitudes from evaluations of other characteristics of speakers of different language varieties. The most well-known indirect method is the matched-guise technique developed by Wallace Lambert et al in 1960.

Both the direct and indirect methods commonly used in language attitude research are experimental methods. They do not provide for taking into account extent documentation. However, a third type of methodology, content analysis of societal treatment, offers a different, non-experimental approach to the examination of language attitudes. This is the methodology that will be used to examine the problem stated in the previous chapter. Ryan et al include content analysis of societal treatment as one of the methodologies used in language attitude research, noting that "the first source of information about views on language varieties lies in the public ways in which they are treated" (Ryan et al 1982:7). The seminal work in the field of sociolinguistics which utilized this approach is Fishman's 1966 *Language Loyalty in the United States*. In this study, Fishman examined trends in the maintenance and shift of ethnic languages by conducting detailed analyses of laws and policies regarding language use, numbers of users of languages and use of languages in different domains (Ryan et al 1982:7).

Using the content analysis of societal treatment method, this study will infer language attitudes from the public treatment English and other languages have received throughout the history of the United States. Public treatment will include official and unofficial language policies, educational policies regarding the use of English and other languages as media of instruction and as content areas, and social policies affecting speakers of languages other than English; language use by various sub-groups; and language use in public domains. Public treatment is evidence of language planning,

which Haugen (1987:55) points out can be either "overt or covert, official or private."

The content analysis of societal treatment methodology is related to what Heath (1977) has described as social history, maintaining that "the most crucial type of interpretation available through social history is that of attitudes expressed toward languages and their speakers" (Heath 1977:57). She states that "sources in social history can also help us understand the relationships between shifts in attitudes toward bilingualism and other changes in the climate of opinion" (Heath 1977:63).

In order to describe the public treatment languages have received in America, accounts from eyewitnesses and actual documents from various historical times and accounts and analyses from others drawn from several sets of literature will be reviewed. The first set of literature comes from the fields of sociolinguistics, social-psychology, sociology, history, religion, and education. The review of this literature will provide data on the ways in which different languages and those who speak them have been viewed throughout the history of the United States. A second set of literature pertains to the theories presented by others regarding the role of English and other languages in American society, including documents illustrating the use of such theories for the promotion of English monolingualism. A third source of data is statistical, including census, immigration, and other counts regarding speakers of languages other than English and students of foreign languages in the United States. This third source also includes the results of national public opinion polls regarding bilingual education and foreign

language instruction. A final set of literature is comprised of legislative documents--laws and court decisions regarding the use of English and other languages in American life.

The data obtained from the review of the literature are synthesized to describe what, how, and why mainstream Americans have particular attitudes toward bilingualism. Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 detail these findings. The findings are organized into the following themes: America's multilingual heritage; multilingualism in America; attitudes toward bilingualism in America; and language ideology in America. Chapter 7 contains a summary and conclusions and Chapter 8 contains recommendations for further study.

# CHAPTER 3

## AMERICA'S MULTILINGUAL HERITAGE

### Before the Colonists

The land that was to become the United States was multilingual before the first explorers arrived. By the 15th century, as illustrated in Map 1 below, there were more than one million Native Americans living throughout the country, representing more than 500 language groups (Hofstadter 1959:28; Castellanos 1983:1).

MAP 1

ORIGINAL LOCATIONS OF AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBES


Source: Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron. *The American Republic, Volume One: To 1865* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.) 1959, p. 29.

The United States further developed as a multilingual nation by all four processes described by Fasold (1984:9-12): migration (including migration and immigration), imperialism (including colonization and annexation), federation, and border area contact.

The First Colonies in America

Most of the land that constituted the first thirteen colonies became multilingual through colonization, a form of imperialism. Most of the colonization was done by the English. In 1607 they settled Jamestown, Virginia. In 1634 a settlement was built at St. Mary's, Maryland. The Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620. Pennsylvania, which had once been part of New Netherland (and which originally included Delaware), was granted to the Englishman William Penn in 1681.

Migration by English colonists accounted for the establishment of several other colonies. Rhode Island was founded by refugees from Massachusetts in 1636, the same year that other Massachusetts colonists migrated to Connecticut. The first settlers of New Hampshire also came from Massachusetts. North Carolina was originally settled by discontented residents of Virginia.

Four colonies, New York, New Jersey, Georgia, and South Carolina, have more complex histories. New Sweden was settled in 1638 in what was to become New Jersey. In 1655 the Dutch expelled the Swedish colony and extended the territory into New York. New Netherland, the Dutch colony, was conquered by the English in 1664. New

York and New Jersey, therefore, became multilingual through a sequence of colonization (New Sweden and New Netherland) and annexation (New Sweden by New Netherland, then New Netherland by the English).

Georgia developed through colonization by the British although it technically belonged to the Spanish as part of La Florida, which once covered the entire Southeast of the present-day United States. Settled around 1733, Georgia was regarded by the British as a military colony and it was populated by a mixed group of Welsh, Scots, English and Germans.

South Carolina began with the migration of Virginians before 1670. English colonists settled Charles Towne in 1670. After 1685, there was migration of French Protestant refugees from New England and immigrants from the West Indies also came to South Carolina.

One by one, the early colonies became British possessions. By 1738, there were three proprietary colonies (Pennsylvania, 1694; Delaware, 1701; Maryland, 1691); two corporate colonies (Rhode Island, 1663; Connecticut, 1662); and eight crown colonies presided over by royal governors (New Hampshire, 1679; New York, 1685; Massachusetts, 1691; Virginia, 1624; New Jersey, 1738; North Carolina, 1729; South Carolina, 1721; Georgia, 1733) (Hofstadter et al 1959:60).

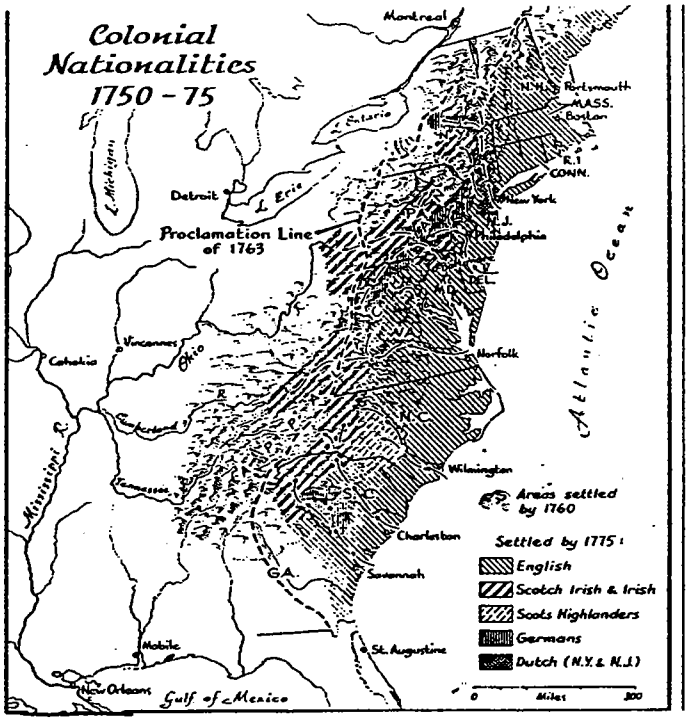
Although the power structure in the colonies was clearly British, thus establishing the pre-eminence of the English language early on, the colonies did have multilingual

populations. "On the eve of the conquest by the English (1664), New Netherland had a mixed population of Waloons, Huguenots, Swedes, Dutchmen, and Negroes numbering around 8,000. In New Amsterdam alone, 18 languages were spoken" (Hofstadter et al 1959:37).

As illustrated in Map 2, from 1750 to 1775 the colonies were populated primarily by English, Scotch Irish and Irish, Scots Highlanders, Germans, and Dutch.

MAP 2

COLONIAL NATIONALITIES 1750-1775




Source: Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron. *The American Republic, Volume One: To 1865* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.) 1959, p. 68.

Territorial Expansion

Between 1776 and 1803 the United States continued to become multilingual through the migration of the original British colonists into the territory west of the original colonies, along with immigration from Europe. The states of Maine, Vermont, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Michigan were settled by migration and were all added to the Union by 1850.

In 1803, a series of annexations began which account for the increase in the number of languages in America's heritage. The Louisiana Purchase, in 1803, doubled the size of the country through annexation and gave the French language a place in America's multilingual heritage. Eventually all or part of fifteen states were formed from this region. France had founded the colony of Louisiana in 1699 by settling in what is now Ocean Springs, Mississippi. The capital was moved to present-day Mobile, Alabama, in 1702. The first permanent town in Louisiana was settled in 1714 and the city of New Orleans was settled in 1718. Between 1760 and 1790, several thousand Acadians fled Nova Scotia to settle in Louisiana. France had ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1762; Spain transferred it back to France in 1800; and France then sold it to the United States in 1803.

Florida -- discovered, explored, and settled by the Spanish -- is the site of the oldest permanent white settlement in the United States. English colonists from Carolina and Georgia arrived after 1763, when Florida and the part of the Louisiana Territory east

of the Mississippi River were ceded to England. The western part of the territory included present-day Alabama and Mississippi. Florida reverted to Spanish control during the Revolutionary War and in the early 1800s American settlers began to fight for the territory. It became part of the United States through annexation, with a treaty ratified in 1821.

The Mexican territory of Texas, which had become independent from Spain in 1821, became multilingual through migration. The Mexicans invited Americans to settle there and between 1820 and 1830 many English-speakers from the lower Mississippi frontier did migrate. Consequently, when Texas joined the Union in 1845, both Spanish and English were spoken by its residents.

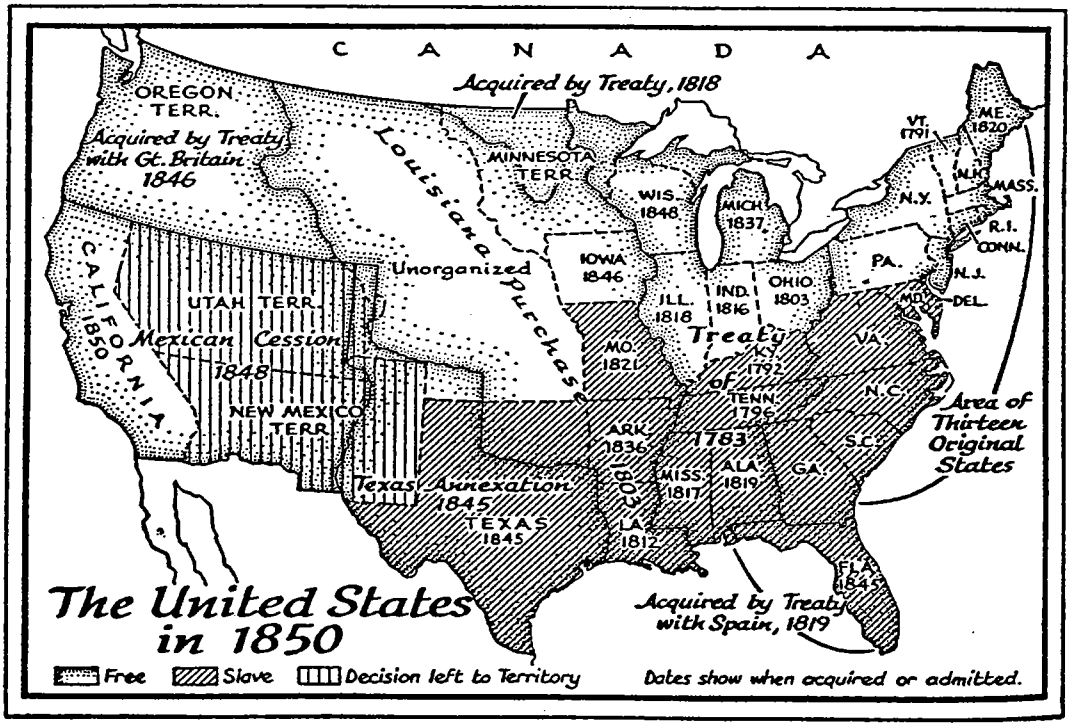
The Mexican War Campaigns between 1846 and 1848 added 500,000 square miles to the United States territory. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, California and most of New Mexico were annexed by the United States. The Gadsden Purchase in 1853 provided for the rest of New Mexico becoming part of the country. Fasold (1984:12) notes that the acquisition of the Mexican territory can be seen as different processes of making the United States multilingual. He suggests all of the following apply:

1) Shifting of a multiethnic border area as a result of war;
2) Annexation-type of imperialism on the part of the United States;
3) Large group migration because Americans had already moved into the area; and
4) Forced federation of the Native Americans in the Southwest.

By 1850, the present-day boundaries of the continental United States had been established, as shown in Map 3.

MAP 3

THE UNITED STATES IN 1850




Source: Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron (1959) *The American Republic: Volume One to 1865*. Englewood Cliffs: New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., p. 500.

Alaska was originally populated by Eskimos, Aleuts, and several Native American peoples who still compose a significant portion of the population. Alaska's first permanent colonists were Russians who settled Kodiak Island in 1784. Scandinavians also settled there. It was annexed by the United States through a purchase from Russia made in 1867.

Territorial expansion resumed when the United States annexed the Spanish possession of Puerto Rico in 1898 as part of the settlement of the Spanish American War. Although language policy in Puerto Rico will not be discussed in this study, it is important to note that it has been a continuous issue of controversy throughout the island's relationship with the United States.

Hawaii, an independent nation, was also annexed by the United States in 1898. First settled by Polynesians, Hawaii became multilingual when immigrant laborers brought a diversity of languages: Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish, Tagalog, and Korean. Today it is officially a bilingual state, recognizing both Hawaiian and English.

Kloss (1977:12) lists the approximate size of the minority population in each of the territories annexed by the United States, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF ORIGINAL SETTLERS AT ANNEXATION

| AREA | YEAR OF ANNEXATION | MINORITY POPULATION | ETHNIC GROUPS |
|---|---|---|---|
| New Netherlands (NY, DE and nearby areas) | 1664 | 6,000 | Dutch |
| Midwest, east of the Mississippi River | 1763 | 5,000 | French |
| Louisiana | 1803 | 15,000 | French |
| Missouri | 1803 | 3,000 | French |
| Florida | 1821 | 3,000 - 5,000 | Spanish |
| Texas | 1845 | 6,000<br>13,000 | Spanish<br>Germans |
| New Mexico | 1848 | 25,000 | Spanish |
| California | 1848 | 5,000 | Spanish |
| Alaska | 1867 | 500<br>1,000<br>10,000 | Russians<br>Creoles<br>Eskimos |
| Hawaii | 1898 | 39,000 | Hawaiians |
| Puerto Rico | 1898 | 885,000 | Spanish |

Source: Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition.* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers) 1977, page 12.

Immigration

The third contributing factor in the multilingual heritage of the United States is the result of the migration of foreign immigrants to the country throughout its history.

Since the early 1600s America had been a catch-all for Europe. Immigration enabled the population of the thirteen colonies to grow. Swedes, Finns, Netherlanders, Huguenots and Spanish and Portuguese Jews, among others, had settled there before the 1680s. A year after it was founded, Jamestown invited Polish immigrants to the settlement. John Smith mentioned that there was a Ukrainian living in the Jamestown settlement in the 1600s. During this time, there was also a small group of Italian glassblowers who settled in Virginia. Finns and Swedes came to the Delaware River Valley in 1638. In 1654, twenty-three Jewish refugees from Brazil landed in New Amsterdam. Spanish-Portuguese Jews continued to settle in New York in the mid-seventeenth century. In the 1670s, the first settlers from Switzerland came to South Carolina. William Penn encouraged Germans to immigrate to Pennsylvania and thirteen German families founded Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683 (Castellanos 1983:5; Lowrie and Stein 1977).

Around 1719 Scotch-Irish were coming to New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Also during the 1700s, Swiss Mennonites immigrated to Pennsylvania; Protestant Moravians from Czechoslovakia settled in Georgia, North Carolina and Pennsylvania; and over one thousand Austrians immigrated to Georgia (Lowrie and Stein

1977).

Maine's multilingual population was also a result of immigration. Originally settled by British colonists and once part of Massachusetts, Maine was continually disputing its eastern boundary with French-speaking Canada. As a result, French was spoken by many residents of Maine. German, French Huguenot and Acadian immigrants also settled there during the 1700s.

The largest numbers of immigrants came to the United States from Germany and Northern Ireland. Most of these immigrants settled in Pennsylvania, southward through the Allegheny foothills, and some 600 miles southwest of the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary. German immigration reached a high point between 1749 and 1754 when over 5,000 Germans arrived every year (Hofstadter et al 1959:67).

Throughout the 1700s the largest number of immigrants came to the Middle Colonies. As a result, these colonies became the most heterogeneous part of England's colonial territory. At the time of the American Revolution, the tidewater area (Virginia, Maryland, and northeast North Carolina) was populated primarily by those of English extraction, although the Southern back country was a conglomeration of culturally and socially distinct immigrant communities. The Carolina low country (from western Maryland to western Georgia) had a mixed population of Englishmen, Germans, Ulster and Highland Scots, Pennsylvania Quakers, and migrants from the tidewater region. In Carolina, Englishmen mixed with Huguenots, Scots, Welsh, Germans, and Scotch Irish

(Hofstadter et al 1959:74-75).

Castellanos (1983:7) describes pre-Revolutionary War immigration as having resulted in

> large settlements of Scotch-Irish on the frontier (Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas); Irish below the Mason-Dixon line; Scottish in North Carolina, New York and Georgia; Dutch in Manhattan, Staten and Long Islands, as well as along the banks of the Hudson River and on the coastlines of New Jersey and Connecticut; French in Maine and Charleston; Huguenots in Manhattan; French Catholics in Louisiana; Swedes in the Delaware Valley (Delaware, southeast Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey and northern Maryland); Jews in Manhattan; small Jewish groups from Spain and Portugal in Rhode Island; Danes in New York; and Welsh in New England and Pennsylvania.

The first census of the United States, conducted in 1790, showed a total white population of somewhat over three million people. During the forty years following the end of the Revolutionary War, an estimated 250,000 immigrants came to the United States. There followed three great waves of immigrants -- totalling more than 35 million people -- who settled in the United States.

Between 1820 and 1860, more than 4 million Irish and 5.2 million Germans immigrated (Molesky 1988:44). In the 1830s and 1840s, Portuguese Catholics came to the whaling industry in New England. Polish immigration increased in the 1830s and by the time of the Civil War there were more than 30,000 Poles living in the United States. In the 1840s, Czechs settled in Wisconsin, New York, Illinois, Nebraska, and Texas. Twenty thousand Dutch settlers immigrated to Michigan, Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin, in addition to New York and New Jersey. During the period from 1848 to

1880, Asian immigrants increased to 4.4% of all immigrants as 300,000 Chinese settled in the West. After 1850, Swiss settlers arrived in Wisconsin, Indiana, and Minnesota.

Two and one-half million immigrants arrived in each of the decades of the 1860s and 1870s; including 3.5 million from England and the Scandinavian countries. Beginning in the 1860s, Norwegians, Danes, Finns and Icelanders settled in the Midwest. By 1880, there were 250,000 Jews, most from Germany, settled in the large cities in the Eastern United States (Lowrie and Stein 1977).

The 1880s saw more than five million immigrants arrive and a new pattern of immigration became established. Before then an overwhelming majority of entrants came from northern and western Europe. During the next two decades, approximately 70% of the European immigrants arrived from eastern or southern Europe (Piatt 1990:15). Between 1880 and 1920, a total of 23 million immigrants entered the United States. Between 1896 and 1917, 60% of them were from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Greece. From 1899 to 1919, 2.3 million Italians arrived and 1.1 million Jews came between 1880 and 1900. These immigrants were concentrated in the urban centers of the country. "The estimated 8 million immigrants who arrived between 1900 and 1910 came to a country with 84 million inhabitants -- thus representing a 10% increase in the total population" (Kellogg 1988:201).

Immigration slowed in the mid 1920s and virtually ended during the Great Depression of the 1930s and again during the World War II years. In 1948, immigration

began to increase as refugees from the War arrived. The 1950s saw refugees from the Korean War and the Hungarian Revolution come to the United States, although more than one-third of the entrants during that decade came from Canada, Mexico and the West Indies (Kellogg 1988:201).

The third great wave of immigrants to the United States began to arrive during the late 1960s and continues today. "In absolute numbers, this migration is among the largest in United States history" (Kellogg 1988:201). Those entering the United States include legal immigrants, refugees, and undocumented immigrants.

Since 1960, 34% of the immigrants have been Asian; 34% Latin American; 16% European; and 16% from other continents. Three out of five new arrivals settle in southern and western states. They are still concentrated in cities. As a result, half of the population growth in the United States since the 1980 Census has been in three states: California, Texas, and Florida (Kellogg 1988:202).

Table 2 shows the country of origin of immigrants from 1820-1985 and Table 3 is a graphic representation of the immigration pattern between 1820 and 1985.

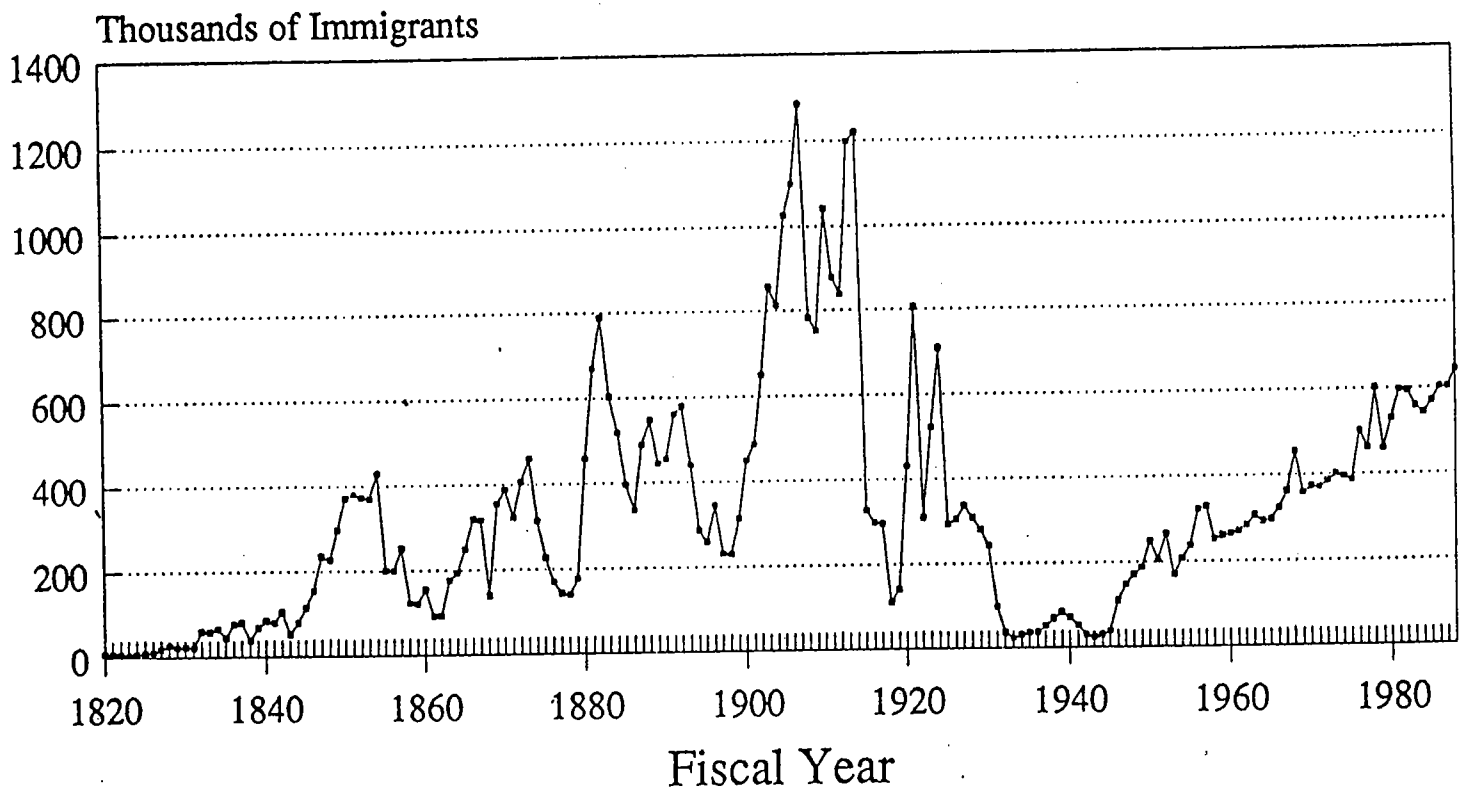
# TABLE 2: LEGAL IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: 1820-1985

| DECADE | TOTAL # | EUROPE TOTAL | N. & W. EUROPE | S. & E. EUROPE | ASIA | AFRICA | AMERICAS TOTAL | CANADA | LATIN AMERICA | MEXICO |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1820-1830 | 151,824 | 70.1% | 67.9% | 2.2% | - | - | 7.9% | 1.6% | 6.2% | 3.2% |
| 1831-1840 | 599,125 | 82.7% | 81.7% | 1.0% | - | - | 5.6% | 2.3% | 3.3% | 1.1% |
| 1841-1850 | 1,713,251 | 93.2% | 92.9% | .3% | - | - | 3.6% | 2.4% | 1.2% | .2% |
| 1851-1860 | 2,598,214 | 94.4% | 93.6% | .8% | 1.6% | - | 2.9% | 2.3% | .6% | .1% |
| 1861-1870 | 2,314,824 | 89.2% | 88.1% | 1.1% | 2.8% | - | 7.2% | 6.6% | .5% | .1% |
| 1871-1880 | 2,812,191 | 80.8% | 76.2% | 4.5% | 4.4% | - | 14.4% | 13.6% | .7% | .2% |
| 1881-1890 | 5,246,613 | 90.3% | 78.8% | 11.5% | 1.3% | - | 8.1% | 7.5% | .6% | n/a |
| 1891-1900 | 3,687,564 | 96.4% | 60.6% | 35.8% | 2.0% | - | 1.1% | .1% | 1.0% | n/a |
| 1901-1910 | 8,795,386 | 91.6% | 46.1% | 45.5% | 3.7% | .1% | 4.1% | 2.0% | 2.1% | .6% |
| 1911-1920 | 5,735,811 | 75.3% | 25.3% | 49.9% | 4.3% | .1% | 19.9% | 12.9% | 7.0% | 3.8% |
| 1921-1930 | 4,107,209 | 60.0% | 32.5% | 27.0% | 2.7% | .2% | 36.9% | 22.5% | 14.4% | 11.2% |
| 1931-1940 | 528,431 | 65.8% | 38.6% | 26.7% | 3.0% | .3% | 30.3% | 20.5% | 9.7% | 4.2% |
| 1941-1950 | 1,035,039 | 60.0% | 49.9% | 9.8% | 3.1% | .7% | 34.3% | 16.6% | 14.9% | 5.9% |
| 1951-1960 | 2,515,479 | 52.7% | 39.7% | 12.7% | 6.1% | .6% | 39.6% | 15.0% | 22.2% | 11.9% |
| 1961-1970 | 3,321,677 | 33.8% | 18.3% | 15.4% | 12.9% | .9% | 51.7% | 12.4% | 38.6% | 13.7% |
| 1971-1980 | 4,493,314 | 17.8% | 6.7% | 11.0% | 35.3% | 1.8% | 44.1% | 3.8% | 40.3% | 14.2% |
| 1981-1985 | 2,864,406 | 11.4% | 5.4% | 6.0% | 47.8% | 2.6% | 37.5% | 2.1% | 35.4% | 11.7% |
| 1985 | 57,009 | 11.1% | 5.3% | 5.7% | 46.4% | 3.0% | 38.8% | 2.0% | 36.7% | 10.7% |
| TOTAL | 52,520,358 | 69.8% | 47.2% | 22.5% | 8.8% | .4% | 20.0% | 8.0% | 11.8% | 4.9% |

Source: L. Bouvier and R. Gardner, "Immigration to the United States: The Unfinished Story," POPULATION BULLETIN, Volume 41, No. 4 (Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau) 1986, page 8.

TABLE 3

LEGAL IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: 1820-1985




Source: Frank Bean et al, *Opening and Closing the Doors: Evaluating Immigration Reform and Control* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press) 1989, page 9.

Forced Immigration

A special note about Black Americans must be made in reference to America's multilingual heritage. In 1619, twenty Blacks were brought to Virginia as indentured servants. By 1640, Black slavery was widespread in that colony and it became legal in Virginia in 1661. Eventually slavery was legalized in all thirteen colonies (Lowrie and Stein 1977:20).

Close to 200,000 Africans from a variety of countries and linguistic backgrounds were brought to the United States as slaves during the 18th century (Castellanos 1985:4). They were prohibited from speaking their native languages. For many years, it was a criminal offense to teach Black slaves to read, "not because people of African descent were incapable of reading, but because reading would, as Frederick Douglass' master put it, 'unfit them to be slaves'" (Moore 1984 cited in Cummins 1989:113). The fact that family groups and persons from the same country were often split apart also contributed to language loss. As a result of their situation, needing to communicate among themselves as well as with their owners, the slaves developed a creole language which is the basis of the present-day English language dialect known as Black English. Because their treatment differed significantly from that of other linguistic minority groups in America, they will not be included in this study.

Forced Federation

Different colonizing nations treated the American Indians differently. The Spanish wanted to transform the Indians into Spaniards. The French had no desire to colonize them and simply developed military and economic relationships with the Indians. The English tried to "civilize" them (Molesky 1988:37). The colonization and migration of European immigrants throughout the United States resulted in forced federation of the American Indians in the sense that diverse Native American groups ultimately came under the political control of the United States. With minor exceptions in the most early days of the colonies, the American Indians were seen as peoples to be conquered and removed from the territory desired by the colonists. From 1830 to 1850, under the Indian Removal Act, American Indians were forced to move to new territories. The Reservation Policy began in 1850; followed in 1880 with a policy of off-reservation boarding schools designed to "Americanize" the children; followed much later by the Relocation Plan (Molesky 1988:36-38). The result of America's treatment of its indigenous populations has been the loss of hundreds of native languages and cultures. Language policy in the United States with regard to American Indians will not be analyzed in this study, because the pattern of treatment of American Indians is radically different from that of others who speak languages other than English.

Summary

America became a multilingual nation through all four processes: migration, imperialism, federation and border area contact. Colonization added the English, Dutch, Swedish, French, and German languages to the Native American languages already present when the settlers arrived. Imperialism and border area multilingualism added Spanish. The United States, however, is truly a nation of immigrants and immigration has made the greatest contribution to the diversity of languages in the United States today. Although language shift -- with its typical pattern of first generation monolingualism in the non-English language, second generation bilingualism, and third generation monolingualism in English -- has resulted in language loss on the part of individuals, continued immigration will ensure that America's multilingual heritage as a country continues in the future.

# CHAPTER 4

# MULTILINGUALISM IN AMERICA

## Introduction

The attitudes of mainstream Americans toward bilingualism are reflected in policies established throughout history and in commentaries on the times. While this examination of multilingualism in America will touch on aspects of commerce, religion, and government, the focus is on multilingualism and education. In particular, the difference between mainstream Americans' attitudes toward teaching *in* languages other than English (bilingual education or native language instruction for non-native speakers of English) and toward the teaching *of* languages other than English (foreign language instruction for native speakers of English) will be studied. As one examines the history of bilingual education and foreign language instruction in the United States, one must take the point of departure that "education is public policy, related to economic conditions, social organization, and political administration and that educational procedures must be evaluated in the light of the social purposes which that public policy was formulated to achieve" (Diamond n.d.:8).

While there is evidence that the ability to speak more than one language has been valued to differing degrees during our history, there is also evidence of early and continuous concern that the position of English as the predominant language in the United

States not be put in jeopardy. As a result, different public policies were implemented at different times throughout history.

But, as Heath (1977:25-26) notes:

> The question of the future of language as a national symbol and tool of unification in the United States has been an almost constant topic of debate with respect to one or another current issue throughout the history of the United States ... in every case, language itself was not the central issue of debate; however, it became a focus of argument made for political, social, or economic purposes.

Others have described the shift in public attitudes toward bilingualism and have identified different turning points throughout history. Leibowitz (1976) identifies three periods. He believes that from 1789 to 1880 there was great tolerance for the use of languages other than English. Between 1880 and World War II, English language requirements were used to exclude language minority populations. From World War II to the time of writing (1976), there was a relaxation of English language requirements and some encouragement of the use of non-English languages (Leibowitz 1976:450).

García (1985) delineates five major periods. In her opinion, from 1777-1880 there was widespread use of languages other than English. The period 1880-1923 marked complete restriction of the use of non-English languages for the benefit of the government. Between 1923 and 1958 bilingualism was viewed as only a private practice. From 1958 to 1968, bilingualism for native English-speakers was promoted; while from 1968 to 1985 bilingualism for non-native speakers of English was promoted by government policy (García 1985:148-149).

Landry (1986:136) distinguishes only four periods. He believes there was antipathy toward bilingualism from 1840 to 1870; relative relaxation to 1917; greater antipathy from 1917 to 1957; and renewed nativism beginning in 1980.

The above-referenced reviews focus on attitudes toward non-native speakers of English. The following historical review of multilingualism in America, however, takes into consideration both the attitudes toward teaching *in* languages other than English and the teaching *of* languages other than English. As a result, the timeline proposed in this study differs somewhat from those delineated by others.

Multilingualism in Colonial America: 1607 to 1783

America in colonial times was a multilingual land. The population grew from 305 in 1610 to 250,000 in 1700 to 2,780,369 in 1780 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:1168). "Beginning in the 1680s, the English colonies in America attracted a sizable, voluntary inpouring of other ethnic groups, which continued without slackening until the American Revolution" (Higham 1984:18). As English immigration declined, the proprietors of the colonies advertised for immigrants from other countries, and French Huguenots, Irish Quakers, German pietists, along with other Irish, Scottish, Swiss, and Germans responded. "Altogether, about 450,000 immigrants arrived in the course of the eighteenth century, over half of them Irish, predominantly Presbyterian..." (Higham 1984:18).

The colonies were ethnically and linguistically diverse. James Schouler, author of *Americans of 1776*, notes that in 1775 twenty percent of the total population of the colonies had a language other than English as their native language (Schouler 1906:308 cited in Read 1937:99). "The demographic registers circa 1776 officially listed the country's White population as 61% English, 10% Irish (mostly from Ulster), 9% German, 8% Scottish, 3% Dutch, 2% French, 1% Swedish, and 6% other" (Castellanos 1983:7). Additionally, 75% of the white population was Protestant (Herberg 1955:18).

Daily life in each of the colonies was conducted in the language of the most powerful group in a particular settlement. Different settlements used languages other than English in religious, educational, and economic institutions while newspapers, schools, and societies supported these languages (Heath 1977: 23). In some colonies the dominant language was English; in others it was German. Dutch, Swedish, French and Polish were used in other settlements.

Multilingualism was valued in the early days of the country for economic, social, and educational reasons. During colonial days, multilingualism was viewed as a skill, a talent to be utilized. It was useful for trading, scouting, religious missionary work, and education. For example, those seeking positions as teachers used their ability to speak other languages as a selling point:

> A young Frenchman, who has been resident about seven months in this town, has a desire to make himself useful to the publick - and believes he can be so in no other way so well as in the instruction of the youth of both sexes in the French language (Heath 1977:35).

Spanish was popular in Boston and New York where there was significant commercial trade with Spanish colonists in the second half of the 1600s (Bagster-Collins 1930:9). Multilingualism aided in diplomatic activities across colonies as well. The leaders of the American Revolution recognized the importance of being able to communicate in several languages:

> Their ability to spread information in languages other than English succeeded in promoting loyalty to the cause of independence ... The diffusion of official communications in languages other than English was seen as an important step in promoting loyalty to the new nation (Piatt 1990:9).

The government also accommodated the needs of non-English speakers. For example, in 1774 and 1775, the Continental Congress published many documents in both French and German (Crawford 1989:19).

The ability to speak a language other than English was not considered unusual in Colonial America. It was common for both members of the working classes and of the educated to speak more than one language (Crawford 1989:19). It is likely that a significant proportion of the population was at least bilingual. Even advertisements for runaway indentured servants and slaves made note of their linguistic talents:

> Run away ... three Dutch men servants ... Another named Andrew Bertle ...; he speaks and writes English, French, Spanish and Dutch very well (Read 1937:97).

> Run away ... a likely Negroe Man ... about 22 Years of Age, named Francisco; he ... speaks Spanish and Dutch well, but not much English (Read 1937:96).

The fact that slaves and servants became bilingual to accommodate the needs of masters and business indicates widespread use of languages other than English throughout the colonies (Read 1937:99).

From the earliest times of United States history, languages other than English were used exclusively or partially as the language of instruction in education in addition to being subjects of study. Vernacular education was implemented wherever European colonists established schools, either in English or in another language (Crawford 1989:8).

In the earliest days of the colonies, education was largely a private endeavor and, during the 17th and 18th centuries, education was closely tied with the family and the church. Schools were originally financed by private funds. "The kind and quality of education in 18th century America depended also on the section of the country, the national origin of the settlers, their religion, and their closeness to settled areas" (Hofstadter et al 1959:110).

Bilingual education, with the goal of bilingualism for non-native speakers of English, was common and supported. Instruction in languages other than English was related to fostering ethnicity or religious life; the family and the church being the primary institutions which encouraged language maintenance (Heath 1977:37). There were German schools in Philadelphia as early as 1694 (Leibowitz 1976:450). Around the time of the American Revolution, some schools taught English as the main language while other schools taught the native language as a school subject and used it partially for

instruction. The languages most frequently involved were German, Dutch, Polish, and French (Castellanos 1983:9).

But the educational system in the United States is largely English in origin and English pedagogy and textbooks held sway in colonial schools. English school masters and scholars enjoyed great prestige (Hofstadter et al 1959:110). The first Latin school was established in Boston in 1635. The curriculum emphasized Latin and also included English composition and literature, mathematics, modern languages, philosophy, and science. When students had mastered Latin they were considered ready to enter the university.

In 1647, a law in Massachusetts required that all towns of at least fifty families appoint a teacher of reading and writing and that all with more than one hundred families also establish a secondary school (Frase Williams 1978:4). Attendance was not, however, compulsory. Public education in the other New England colonies was for the poor and the orphans, because middle-class children were either taught at home or through apprenticeships and the children of the rich were either tutored at home, attended private schools, or were sent abroad for their education. It should be noted, however, that "there was enormous variation within the original colonies in the provision, content, and goals of education, reflecting the diverse backgrounds of the settlers of the different colonies. This variation continued in the early days of the Republic" (Frase Williams 1978:6).

The early formal educational system in the United States emphasized the classical curriculum in which "the study of Latin and Greek was considered an essential provider of 'intellectual discipline'"(Parker 1954:73). Modern foreign languages had more social value; they were "polite accomplishments" rather than serious objects of study.

The first American colleges modeled the English educational system where "Latin, Greek and Hebrew were the chief subjects of study and training for the ministry was the goal" (Bagster-Collins 1930:49). The entrance requirements to Harvard University, established in 1636, indicate the value placed on the knowledge of classical languages during the colonial period:

> When any scholar is able to understand Tully or such like classical latin author extempore, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose; ... and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, let him then, and not before, be capable of admission into the college (Langdon 1937:319).

Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, along with elementary Chaldee and Syriac, were part of the prescribed curriculum of the colonial college (Langdon 1937:319). Harvard was the first college to make provisions for teaching French as a social accomplishment in 1733 (Bagster-Collins 1930:49-50).

Although formal education in Colonial America focused on classical languages, there were those who wanted to know modern foreign languages for practical or social reasons. Even in colonial times there were teachers who provided individual instruction or private classes for children and adults (Parker 1954:73). Most teachers were foreign-

born and they offered private classes. There are records of French, Italian, Spanish, and German being taught to native English-speakers during the colonial period (Bagster-Collins 1930:8-9).

The majority of the population of the colonies, however, was monolingual in English. Consequently, the language of power in the colonies became English. While there were no *official* attempts to impose English on others, the signs of discontent over the existence of languages other than English, particularly German, began to surface toward the latter part of the Colonial period.

"The first major ethnic crisis in American history boiled up in Pennsylvania in the 1740s, when the mushrooming German settlements temporarily seemed an unassimilable alien mass" (Higham 1984:19). Benjamin Franklin was extremely worried that the German-speaking population in Pennsylvania was becoming too powerful. In 1751 he wrote that the colony "will in a few years become a German colony. Instead of their learning our language, we must learn their's or live as in a foreign country" (Baron 1990:66).

While Franklin may have been in the minority with his opinions, he was not alone. In 1758, a writer in the *American Magazine* "warned that the presence of a large number of nonanglophone immigrants should prompt efforts to defend English in America from the encroachments of minority tongues" (Baron 1990:64).

A solution to the German problem was proposed by an educator, William Smith.

He suggested a school where both English-dominant and German-dominant students would be taught by bilingual teachers in the same classroom, using both languages, in the belief that "the old can neither acquire our Language, nor quit their national manners. The young may do both" (Baron 1990:69).

Thus, the concept of *transitional* bilingual education was first introduced in the United States, the goal of such programs being monolingualism in English. But when the German parents discovered that linguistic assimilation to English rather than religious instruction was the real goal of the school, they withdrew their students (Crawford 1989:19). All of these British Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) schools, first opened in 1755, had closed by 1764.

Multilingualism during the Colonial years was widespread and, due to economic, diplomatic, and demographic conditions, there was a high degree of support for bilingualism for non-native speakers of English. Geographic isolation and continuing immigration contributed to language maintenance. The relative absence of formal educational institutions and the existence of religious and social institutions organized by ethnic groups also contributed to widespread acceptance of languages other than English and the use of such languages for instruction. Although classical foreign languages were regarded highly as a sign of "being educated," the number who had this opportunity were quite few. Modern foreign languages were viewed considerably less positively, acknowledged primarily for their usefulness as tools for commerce.

Multilingualism in the New Nation: 1783 to 1830

The linguistic heritage of the entire American population in 1783 was 49% English, 17% undifferentiated Bantu languages, 11% undifferentiated American Indian languages, 11% Scottish, 4.2% German, 3.6% Irish, 2.2% French, 1.6% Dutch, and .4% Other (Landry 1986:134).

The first census of the United States, conducted in 1790, showed a total white population of somewhat over three million people. The linguistic background of this segment of the population, as listed in Table 4, was 79% English-speaking.

## TABLE 4: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE POPULATION, BY NATIONALITY: 1790

| AREA | ENGLISH | SCOTCH | IR. ULSTER | FREE IRISH | GERMAN | DUTCH | FRENCH | SWEDISH | SPANISH | OTHER |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ME | 60.0% | 4.5% | 8.0% | 3.7% | 1.3% | .1% | 1.3% | - | - | 21.1% |
| NH | 61.0% | 6.2% | 4.6% | 2.9% | .4% | .1% | .7% | - | - | 24.1% |
| VT | 76.0% | 5.1% | 3.2% | 1.9% | .2% | .8% | .4% | - | - | 12.6% |
| MA | 82.0% | 4.4% | 2.6% | 1.3% | .3% | .2% | .8% | - | - | 8.4% |
| RI | 71.0% | 5.8% | 2.0% | .8% | .5% | .4% | .8% | .1% | - | 18.6% |
| CT | 67.0% | 2.2% | 1.8% | 1.1% | .3% | .3% | .9% | - | - | 26.4% |
| NY | 52.0% | 7.0% | 5.1% | 3.0% | 8.2% | 17.5% | 3.8% | .5% | - | 2.9% |
| NJ | 47.0% | 7.7% | 6.3% | 3.2% | 9.2% | 16.6% | 2.4% | 3.9% | - | 3.7% |
| PA | 35.3% | 8.6% | 11.0% | 3.5% | 33.3% | 1.8% | 1.8% | .8% | - | 3.9% |
| DE | 60.0% | 8.0% | 6.3% | 5.4% | 1.1% | 4.3% | 1.6% | 8.9% | - | 4.4% |
| MD | 64.5% | 7.6% | 5.8% | 6.5% | 11.7% | .5% | 1.2% | .5% | - | 1.7% |
| VA | 68.5% | 10.2% | 6.2% | 5.5% | 6.3% | .3% | 1.5% | .6% | - | .9% |
| NC | 66.0% | 14.8% | 5.7% | 5.4% | 4.7% | .3% | 1.7% | .2% | - | 1.2% |
| SC | 60.2% | 15.1% | 9.4% | 4.4% | 5.0% | .4% | 3.9% | .2% | - | 1.4% |
| GA | 57.4% | 15.5% | 11.5% | 3.8% | 7.6% | .2% | 2.3% | .6% | - | 1.2% |
| KY/TN | 57.9% | 10.0% | 7.0% | 5.2% | 14.0% | 1.3% | 2.0% | .5% | - | 1.9% |
| ALL US | 60.9% | 8.3% | 6.0% | 3.7% | 8.7% | 3.4% | 1.7% | .7% | - | 6.6% |
| NW TER. | 29.8% | 4.1% | 2.9% | 1.8% | 4.3% | - | 57.1% | - | - | - |
| SPAN. US | 2.5% | .3% | .2% | .1% | .4% | - | - | - | 96.5% | - |
| FR. US | 11.2% | 1.6% | 1.1% | .7% | 8.7% | - | 64.2% | - | 12.5% | - |

Source: United States Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Series Z 20-23* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office) 1975, page 1168.

"By the time of the American Revolution, a significant portion of the immigrants of the preceding century had been fully accepted in the new society" (Higham 1984:19). Immigration had slowed considerably during the Revolutionary War and afterwards; only 250,000 immigrants entered the new United States between 1783 and 1819 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:97). Between 1819 and 1830, another 151,824 immigrants arrived (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:106). By 1830, the percentage Americans who were foreign-born had dropped to eight percent (Higham 1984:21).

In addition, by the early 1800s, the first generation of those born in the country of the United States (as opposed to the colonies) were coming of age, adding a new dimension to the population of native-born *Americans*. "A society accustomed to constant infusions from abroad found time to adjust itself to a condition where its people were home-born and home-bred" (Hansen 1940:71).

There is evidence that, around the time of the Revolution, French and Swedish were declining in use. But German and Dutch were still strong. In New York and New Jersey "Dutch was the language of the market, the church, and the home" (Hansen 1940:72). Over the next forty years, however, economic and social pressures encouraged the replacement of Dutch by English as the language of commerce (although it took longer to displace it from the home). Religious institutions also began to replace native languages with English. "By the middle of the 18th century, some of the immigrant churches, such as the Dutch Reformed, had to answer the question that was

ultimately faced by all foreign language groups: Should English be substituted for their foreign tongue" (Hofstadter et al 1959:109). By 1815 Dutch Reformed Church services were conducted in English and in New York the Lutheran Church declared English its official language. In other parts of the country, the language decision was left to the individual congregation (Hansen 1940:73-74).

It is clear, however, that by the time the Constitution was written, English had become the language of power in the colonies. By then the English-speaking areas had been united as a continuous territory (Piatt 1990:8). As the dominant group, the English ways were "the polity, the language, the pattern of work and settlement, and many of the mental habits to which the immigrant would have to adjust" (Higham 1984:6).

Heath (1977), Marshall (1986), Judd (1987), Leibowitz (1976) and many others have written about the fact that the United States Constitution did not specify an official language for the United States. The decision of the Founding Fathers not to declare English (or any other language) the official language of the country was rooted in the English tradition of not regulating language by law. It was also based on the very principle upon which the United States was founded: freedom. "Language use was considered a matter of personal choice to be made by each individual and not an issue for governmental intervention" (Judd 1987:115). On the other hand, Edwards (1989:19) notes that perhaps they thought that English was so dominant that it could not have been challenged by any language, otherwise they might have designated English the official

language.

Multilingualism was still valued during this period, for the same reasons that existed during the Colonial period. Immigrants were needed to settle and work the land and the ability to disseminate information about the United States to those who spoke languages other than English was helpful (Judd 1987:115). But the Federalist Era, with its emphasis on American nationalism, influenced language policy regarding bilingualism. In 1780, John Adams predicted that the United States would be the vehicle for making its national language, English, the next world language (Baron 1990:2). In 1790 he proposed the establishment of an English language academy (Piatt 1990:9). Noah Webster not only wanted to make English the official language of the United States, but he wanted to standardize a form of English unique to this country through his dictionaries. It is important to note that Chief Justice Marshall, when approached by Webster for an endorsement of his American Dictionary, "reminded Webster that in America individuals and not public bodies made decisions regarding language use" (Piatt 1990:10).

Afraid that radicals involved in the French Revolution might influence the new United States, the first federal legislation regarding immigration was enacted in 1798 with the Alien and Sedition Acts. This legislation, which gave the President the power to expel or imprison dangerous foreign persons, expired in 1800.

The 1803 Louisiana Purchase was a concern to national leaders such as John

Quincy Adams because its population was French-speaking and President Jefferson went so far as to propose settling 30,000 Americans there to prevent the maintenance of the French language (Baron 1990:2). Concern arose whenever a significant portion of the population spoke a language other than English. The transitional bilingual education approach for Germans proposed by Smith through the SPCK schools of the 1750s was reintroduced by Benjamin Rush. More and more frequently there were references to English as the "national" language.

In 1820, the American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres was created by leading politicians as a private (as opposed to governmental) attempt to regulate English language usage. Failing to secure support, it ceased to exist after publishing three circulars (Piatt 1990:10).

After the American Revolution, the "academy" began to replace the Latin grammar schools of colonial times (Parker 1954:74). Academies catered to the interests of their patrons and, during the 18th century, secular subjects were introduced and the social importance of education was emphasized. States began to enact laws regarding public education. The typical 18th-century public education curriculum consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic and religion (Langdon 1937:318).

Although modern foreign languages, particularly French, were more likely to be taught in the academies which developed after the Revolution in addition to the increasing number of private and boarding schools, they were still considered peripheral to the core

curriculum. In college preparatory courses classical languages were still considered as "disciplines" whereas modern foreign languages were "extras," and usually had to be paid for as extras. Although Harvard had established a chair of French and Spanish languages and literatures by 1816, study of such languages was done "outside the prescribed curriculum" and most of the teachers were foreign born (Parker 1954:74).

"The early 1800s marked the era of greatest decentralization and diversity in American education" (Frase Williams 1979:6). During the early 1800s:

> Instruction in several districts in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Wisconsin was given in German--often to the exclusion of English. In one district in Wisconsin, one-third of the textbook funds were earmarked for German texts. In others, school boards could hire only German-speaking teachers. Even local district records were frequently kept in German (Castellanos 1983:9).

The German immigrants during this time period tended to settle together in farming districts in the frontier states. They neither had access to teachers who spoke English nor really needed to be able to speak English in these isolated settlements.

The structure of American public education during this period allowed immigrant groups to incorporate linguistic and cultural traditions into the schools. In urban as well as rural areas, schools were decentralized and locally controlled. As such, they were responsive to ethnic and political pressures, and immigrant groups could successfully assert that the preservation of their cultural identity was a legitimate responsibility of public education.

Usually this preservation took the form of instruction in a language other than or

in addition to English. Wherever immigrant groups possessed sufficient political power--be they Italian, Polish, Czech, French, Dutch, German--foreign languages were introduced into elementary and secondary schools, either as separate subjects or as languages of instruction (Castellanos 1983:22-23).

Multilingualism for non-native speakers of English during the early years of the new nation was still viewed positively for its economic, social, and demographic value. As public education became more widespread, the use of foreign languages *for* instruction increased. The status of bilingualism for native English-speakers began to slowly improve, with classical and modern foreign languages being more frequently taught than during the Colonial period. Most important, this period marks the development of nationalism during the Federalist Era, when people began equating the English language with being American.

Multilingualism in an Expanding America: 1830 to 1890

In 1830 the total population of the United States was 12,901,000. By 1890 it had grown to 63,056,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:8). Between 1830 and 1890, close to 15.2 million immigrants came to the United States, bringing the foreign-born percentage of the population to 14.67 percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:8,14).

Immigration jumped significantly in the 1830s (from 150 thousand between 1820 and 1830 to 600 thousand between 1830 and 1840) and almost tripled the next decade to

1.7 million. An average of 2.5 million immigrants entered in each of the three decades from 1850-1860 to 1870-1880 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:106). Between 1864 and 1868, immigration was encouraged by a Congressional statute authorizing the passages of prospective immigrants to be paid for by employers. During the middle part of the century, many western and southern states used promotional agents and other incentives to recruit immigrants to settle in these sections of the country (Higham 1984:33). The immigrants of this period were primarily Irish and German. The Irish reinforced the position of the English language; the renewed German immigration threatened it. Germans, throughout the 1800s, were the numerically dominant group of non-English speakers (Molesky 1988:41). Between 1881 and 1890, 5,246,613 immigrants came to the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:106). Moreover, between 1830 and 1890 the percentage of immigrants of Northern and Western European extraction declined from a high of 93.6% in 1851-1860 to 78.8% in 1881-90 (Molesky 1988:54). Asians were the new immigrants. Since the 1840s Chinese men had come to Hawaii, California and the Southwest to work as laborers.

An economic depression in 1837 contributed to discrimination against immigrants. Many of the new immigrants were Catholic and societies were formed to "preserve the nation's ethnic purity" (Piatt 1990:14). The Secret Order of the Star Spangled Banner and the Native American or Know Nothing Party are but two examples of such nativist organizations which opposed immigration, reflecting social, religious and ethnic

prejudice. "Especially in the South, where German opposition to slavery caused alarm, and in the Midwest, where German settlement concentrated, the xenophobia of the 1850s included anxiety over the threat of immigrant radicals to American institutions" (Higham 1984:8-9). During this time period, concern also arose about the condition of the slums in major cities and immigrants were blamed for the problems created by slums. Resentment built as immigration contributed to increased poor relief costs passed on to taxpayers. When immigration increased after 1860, "Not only pauperism and crime, but hard times, political corruption, intemperance, and pestilence were laid at the door of the newcomers" (Bremner 1966:10).

In 1870, a Civil Rights Act was passed which guaranteed equal protection under the law for aliens. In 1874, the Supreme Court ruled that states had the right to permit aliens to vote. In 1875, legislation was passed to bar contract laborers, the effect of which was to disproportionately prohibit the entrance of Asian immigrants (Bean et al 1989:11-12). In 1876, the Supreme Court ruled that the regulation of immigration was a federal prerogative under the Interstate Commerce Clause of the United States Constitution. In 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act put restrictions on Chinese immigrants, over 100,000 of whom had arrived by 1880. Another economic depression in 1883-86 increased demands to regulate immigration, led by the Knights of Labor who resented the fact that employers were bringing in foreigners to break strikes and hold down wages (Higham 1984:38). Legislation was again passed in 1885 forbidding the payment of

transportation costs for immigrants in return for their services. Despite everything, no restrictions were placed on the amount of immigration during this time. However, some states such as Connecticut (in 1855) and Massachusetts (in 1857) did pass laws requiring English literacy as a voter qualification (Leibowitz 1976:455).

Language became an issue with regard to the western territories won from Mexico. While California was admitted as a state in 1850 (two years after the discovery of gold) with a constitution that recognized the status of Spanish, New Mexico was denied statehood because it was predominantly Spanish-speaking. "It has been asserted that the people of New Mexico are not Americans, that they speak a foreign language and that they have no affinity with American institutions" (Baron 1990:97). Furthermore, although when California became a state in 1850 its constitution protected the Spanish language, by 1855 laws had been passed requiring government documents, court proceedings and school instruction to be exclusively in English (Hernández-Chávez 1988:49).

In Pennsylvania, during the Constitutional Convention of 1837-1838, there was significant debate regarding a proposed amendment to establish free public schools providing instruction in both English and German. The proposer of the amendment, Carles Jared Ingersoll, was disturbed that English-only instruction was being imposed in schools. Numerous arguments were raised in objection to the amendment. Some feared that other groups -- Scotch, Irish, Spanish, or French -- might also want their children

taught in their native languages. Some considered it a matter for the local school district to decide. Others pointed out the difficulty of finding qualified bilingual teachers. Many referred to the need for English as a common language to unify people. The discussion inevitably turned to a question of methodology--whether one should use the transitional bilingual education or immersion approach. Delegate James Merrill argued in favor of transitional bilingual education:

> If it is our object to make our people become homogeneous, will you do it by coercing this class of our citizens to come into this system of English education at the outstart, or will you give their minds a start in their own language? Give them a chance to obtain some intelligence in their own language, and then they will be more able to see the necessity of coming into the language of the state (Baron 1990:79).

Ingersoll's amendment to promote bilingual education was rejected, although the convention approved printing its journal in both German and English.

One month later Calvin Stowe's report on European education was published by the Ohio General Assembly. Stowe, after studying the Prussian system of bilingual education, recommended implementation of similar programs in the United States, like one that had been established in Cincinnati.

Similar debates took place in Louisiana, where the majority of the population was of French descent until 1830. At the 1864 convention, the education committee proposed English as the only medium of instruction, ostensibly to avoid having schools where only French was used. In the end, at the same time as the delegates had the state's constitution printed in three languages (French, English, and German), they required that

the "general exercises" in schools be in English. Later the law was changed to allow French language schools "if no additional expense is incurred thereby" (Baron 1990:86-87).

In 1845 it became law that English was the language of instruction in Illinois schools. Later versions of the law clarified that the teaching *of* languages other than English was not prohibited and in 1869 the law was revised to permit the teaching *of* foreign languages *in* that foreign language (Baron 1990:118).

There were conditions favorable to foreign language maintenance during this time period. The public school system was still developing; European universities were still believed to be superior to American ones; there was strong sectionalism; and the federal government was relatively weak.

"Under these circumstances, it was no special sign of cultural nationalism for German immigrants to feel a strong obligation to maintain what they conceived of as a higher culture" (Glazer 1978:36). The new wave of German immigrants, beginning in the 1830s, settled primarily in the Midwest where the common schools were particularly weak. The Germans formed a majority in many areas and, wanting to preserve their language and culture, established private schools where German was the sole language of instruction. These private schools competed with the existing public institutions.

In 1840 in Cincinnati, the study of German was introduced in the early grades of public elementary schools on equal footing with English as a compromise to the

significant German population (Bagster-Collins 1930:7-8). But it would be twenty-five years until any other city introduced German at the elementary level in public schools (Schlossman 1983:146-147). Consequently, in 1867 in Milwaukee, for example, there were still 5,000 students attending private German schools as opposed to 7,000 attending public schools (Bagster-Collins 1930:15).

Although some language shift among immigrant groups did occur, geographic isolation of concentrations of same-language speakers and lack of mobility prior to 1860 contributed to language maintenance (Gorlach 1986:98). Religious organizations also supported language maintenance. In the 1800s, Congregationalist Armenians seceded from the Congressional Church because of language. Lutheran churches were organized by ethnic groups -- German, Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish -- and utilized the native language.

Although most of the early school laws did not address the language of instruction, later laws explicitly permitted bilingual education to be used in the public schools. States including provisions for bilingual education during this period included Ohio (1839), Illinois (1857), Iowa (1861), Kentucky (1867), Minnesota (1867), Oregon (1872), Missouri (1887), and Colorado (1887) (Castellanos 1983:19).

Schools providing instruction in the native languages of the children were also prevalent in Pennsylvania, where a law permitted German schools to be founded on an equal basis with English ones. In 1854 a Wisconsin law authorized foreign language

instruction in the public schools, with the intention that the language be Norwegian. Wisconsin also provided instruction either entirely in German or bilingually with English in any school district with a large German population. A German-English bilingual program established in 1869 in Indianapolis continued until 1919. French bilingual schools were commonplace in Louisiana and in New England. Scandinavian and Dutch bilingual schools were found throughout the Midwest. The Territory of New Mexico enacted a law in 1850 which permitted Spanish and English instruction in the public schools and in 1884 a law was passed in New Mexico authorizing monolingual Spanish public schools (Castellanos 1983:19).

During this period the extension of public education took the form of secondary schools and attendance laws. The addition of public high schools and the gradual enactment of compulsory attendance laws meant considerable growth in school attendance in the late 1800s (Frase Williams 1979:5). The percentage of children ages 5-18 years old enrolled in common schools increased to 68.6% in 1890 (Dexter 1971:164). Private and parochial non-English or bilingual schools lost some ground to the public schools, which began to experiment with their own bilingual programs in order to attract the children of immigrants (Castellanos 1983:21). During the later part of the 19th century, however, new immigrant groups were attracted to private schools and new non-English parochial schools were founded by Poles, Lithuanians, Slovaks, and Italians.

What may be seen as support for bilingualism in the 1800s could have been only

a public relations effort on the part of the schools. "The public schools, particularly those outside of New England, competed with private and parochial schools to attract nonanglophone students by offering minority-language or bilingual instruction" (Baron 1990:xvii). Even as state laws put more restrictions on the use of languages other than English, local officials found ways to circumvent the law. Sometimes school district boundaries were redrawn to create separate schools with German-speaking majorities. Use of one-room schoolhouses was divided so that English-speakers used them half of the year and German-speakers used them the other half (Schlossman 1983:146-147).

The study of foreign languages by native English-speaking students during this period took two forms. Many of these students in the Midwest, where German bilingual education in public schools was prevalent, attended schools where German was studied and/or German was used as a medium of instruction. No other modern foreign language was studied to any great extent in elementary schools throughout the country. In high schools in other areas of the country, however, modern foreign languages began to appear as elective courses. They also began to replace the study of classical languages. French, German, Italian, and Spanish were offered in both high schools and academies throughout the country (Bagster-Collins 1930:15-31).

In 1875, Harvard began requiring either French or German for entrance into the college (Bagster-Collins 1930:40). The Modern Language Association was founded in 1883, its formal resolution stating, "the chief aims to be sought in the study of modern

languages in our colleges are literary culture, philological scholarship, and linguistic discipline" (Parker 1954:75). The association's first study, completed in 1885, found that fewer than one-third of the colleges in the country had a modern language entrance requirement at the time (Bagster-Collins 1930:40). But the study of modern foreign languages, particularly French and German, at American colleges did increase during this period. Language study was more frequently required for Bachelor of Science degrees (92%) than for Bachelor of Arts degrees (66%) (Bagster-Collins 1930:69).

Multilingualism in America between 1830 and 1890 can best be described as expanding along with the territory of the country. The status of classical foreign languages declined while modern foreign language instruction became more acceptable. Territorial expansion to the West Coast provided for the establishment of native language communities with their own educational institutions in pockets throughout the country. Wherever language minority populations formed a significant portion of the population, native language instruction was provided. It is also clear, however, that mainstream Americans were growing resentful of the immigrants and established anti-immigrant policies. Immigrants were not regarded highly by all. FitzGerald (1979:49) notes that "Many of the 19th century [history] textbook writers had decided opinions on things ... they did not like foreigners at all, and they had a particularly keen dislike for the Spanish." While the occurrence of bilingual education programs may have increased due to immigration and migration, support from mainstream America was decreasing.

Multilingualism in a Diverse America: 1890 to 1923

By the 1890s, the American West had almost been completely settled. There was significant competition for jobs and insecurity about future growth. The period from 1893-97 marked another cycle of economic depression.

Between 1890 and 1923, more than 20 million immigrants entered the United States. The peak of immigration was between 1901 and 1910, when almost 8.8 million immigrants arrived (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:105). More importantly, these people came from different backgrounds than did those who preceded them. While the prior wave of immigrants came from northern and western Europe, almost 70% of the "new" immigrants were from eastern or southern Europe. There was also increasing Mexican immigration into the Southwestern United States. By the time this wave of immigration ended, "the British-Protestant element had been reduced to less than half the population, and Americans had become linguistically and ethnically the most diverse people on earth" (Stewart 1954:21 cited in Herberg 1955:18).

Between 1890 and 1910, the number of immigrants who did not speak English increased by 115% (Thompson 1971:32). In fact, while the number of foreign-born whites aged ten and over increased 29.3% between 1900 and 1910, the percentage of those unable to speak English rose 142.6% (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1914a:1267).

Statistics regarding the mother tongue of the foreign-born white population collected by the 1910 and 1920 Censuses (1910 was the first year in which such

information was collected) reveal an increase in percent of the foreign-born who spoke Italian, Yiddish, Polish, Russian, Magyar, Slovak and Czech over the ten-year period, as shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

PRINCIPAL MOTHER TONGUES OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OF THE U.S. 1910 AND 1920

| MOTHER TONGUE | 1910 | 1910 % | 1920 | 1920 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| English and Celtic | 3,363,792 | 25.6 | 3,007,932 | 22.7 |
| German | 2,759,032 | 21.0 | 2,267,128 | 17.1 |
| Italian | 1,365,110 | 10.4 | 1,624,998 | 12.3 |
| Yiddish | 1,051,767 | 8.0 | 1,091,820 | 8.2 |
| Polish | 943,781 | 7.2 | 1,077,392 | 8.1 |
| Swedish | 683,218 | 5.2 | 643,203 | 4.9 |
| French | 528,842 | 4.0 | 466,956 | 3.5 |
| Norwegian | 402,587 | 3.1 | 362,199 | 2.7 |
| Russian | 57,926 | 0.4 | 392,049 | 3.0 |
| Magyar | 229,094 | 1.7 | 290,419 | 2.2 |
| Slovak | 166,474 | 1.3 | 274,948 | 2.1 |
| Czech | 228,738 | 1.7 | 234,564 | 1.8 |
| Other mother tongues | 1,353,951 | 10.3 | 1,521,786 | 11.5 |
| TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION | 13,134,312 | 100% | 13,255,394 | 100% |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Volume II, General Report, Statistics by Subjects* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office) 1933, p. 342.

These immigrant peoples from Russia, Poland, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Greece, along with over three million Jews, tended to concentrate in cities, often resulting in the city's having a majority minority population. Sixty-two percent of the foreign-born lived in urban centers as opposed to only 26% of the native-born (of native-born parents) in 1890 (Higham 1984:22). Some states felt the impact of immigration more than others. "At the beginning of the twentieth century 75% of Minnesota, 71% of Wisconsin, 64% of Rhode Island, 62% of Massachusetts and 61% of Utah were people with at least one parent born outside the United States" (Carpenter 1927:308 cited in Higham 1984:14). Consequently, these new immigrants threatened the political balance in many cities and states.

The new immigrants also had a significant impact on the school systems in the cities. In 1909, it was reported that 57.8% of the school population in 37 major cities were either foreign-born or had parents who were foreign-born. In New York this population was 71.5%; in Chicago it was 67.3% (Krug 1976:87).

As the percentage of the foreign-born in the total population peaked at 14.67% in 1890 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:14), restrictions on all immigration were encouraged. In 1904, a *New York Times* editorial warned its readers that the current patterns of immigration "are mere intimations of what is likely to come upon us if we raise no barriers against the flood of mongrel and polyglot accessions to our population which threaten American standards of living and American ideals generally" (Simon

1985:193). Walt Whitman's *American Primer*, written in the 1850s but not released until 1904, revived some of Franklin's belief in the need for the type of English spoken in the United States to be uniquely "American." Objecting to the Catholic influence in American place names, he went so far as to recommend that "Baltimore, St. Louis, St. Paul and New Orleans be renamed ... and that 'aboriginal,' or Native American, names replace the saints' names so common in California" (Baron 1990:51).

By the 1890s, a large body of pseudoscientific literature was circulating claiming to document the racial inferiority of non-Anglo-Saxons. The field of "eugenics" supported immigration restriction to improve American society by keeping out those whose genes were inferior. At the same time, anthropologists promoted new racial classifications related to physical types, with the Alpines of central Europe and the Mediterraneans of southern Europe corresponding to the new immigrants. These theories provided documentation and a scientific basis for mainstream fears regarding the new immigrants and enabled them to rationalize their concerns about cultural homogeneity. "At the deepest level, what impelled the restriction movement in the early decades of the twentieth century was the discovery that immigration was undermining the unity of American culture and threatening the accustomed dominance of a white Protestant people of northern European descent" (Higham 1984:46-47).

Before this era, the federal government did not administer immigration laws; the states where immigrants entered had that responsibility. The Bureau of Immigration was

established as part of the Treasury Department in 1891, with exclusive authority over immigration. In 1896, led by Henry Cabot Lodge and the Immigration Restriction League, the restrictionists devised a plan to reduce immigration from southern and eastern Europe without affecting immigration from northern and western Europe. The plan applied one criterion to all adult immigrants: that they be able to read and write their own language. Despite Congressional support, each time the bill was introduced, the President vetoed it (Higham 1984:41). In 1905, however, the President sent a report to Congress suggesting that those immigrants wishing to become citizens should speak English. This requirement for naturalization became law for the first time in American history in the Nationality Act of 1906 (Leibowitz 1976:459). Further immigration restrictions came when Japanese immigration was ended with the 1907-1908 Gentlemen's Agreement.

Restrictionists were finally able to override previous Presidential vetoes of literacy requirements for immigrants in 1917. The immigration law of 1917 had three major components. First, it excluded immigrant adults who could not read in any language. Second, the law established an "Asiatic barred zone" which excluded virtually all Asians. Third, the law excluded members of revolutionary organizations and approved the deportation of those immigrants who encouraged revolution or sabotage after entering the country (Higham 1984:52). A visa requirement was initiated in 1918 as a mechanism of screening entrants to the United States, partially in response to the fear of foreign

radicals.

The Dillingham Commission's report in 1911 had advocated reducing immigration on the part of those ethnic groups which had been shown to be more difficult to assimilate. It provided the documentation needed to pass the Johnson Act in 1921, which temporarily established immigration quotas on the basis of the national origins of the United States population in 1910. Consequently, "ethnic affiliation became the main determinant for admission to the United States" (Higham 1984:54). A 1922 report for the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization claimed there was scientific evidence that immigrants, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, were inferior and recommended that future immigration policy control the "hereditary quality" of foreigners (Morris 1985:18-20).

It was during this wave of immigration that language became closely associated with ethnic identity. As Herberg (1955:24) describes the process, in the Old World, people were from particular villages or provinces and were known by that name. Nationalism did not sweep Europe until the late 20th century. Consequently people were not "Italians;" they were "Sicilians" or "Apulians." They were not "Germans," but rather "Bavarians" or "Prussians." But in America the immigrant had an identity problem:

> Immigrants found themselves drawn together by a larger affiliation the basis of which was the language that permitted them to communicate with each other...So generally immigrant groups named themselves by their language rather than their place of origin; they became Poles and Russians

> and Slovaks and Greeks and Swedes and Hungarians..." (Herberg 1955:25).

Even today, Spanish-speaking immigrants who come from all the different countries in Central and South America -- countries with different cultures -- are all called "Hispanics" or "Spanish-speaking Americans." However, this process of "ethnic group" identification was not meant to be "a permanent feature of American life but a transitional and makeshift device" (Herberg 1955:32). Immigrants were expected to assimilate and lose their ethnic group identity. As Woodrow Wilson said, "A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American" (Herberg 1955:50).

Religion played an important role in preserving America's multilingual heritage. As immigration made the American peoples more diverse, religious groups speaking languages other than English became larger. Given the tendency for immigrants to settle in parts of the country where others from the same country had established communities, the number of people from a particular ethnic group belonging to a particular religion became significant. When American churches refused to allow foreign-language subdivisions, immigrants set up their own churches. For example, "... because in the early days of the nation the Methodist Church rejected foreign-language branches, two German Methodist bodies, the United Brethren and the evangelical Church, had to form separate establishments" (Herberg 1955:27). Those churches which did accommodate non-English speakers, did not necessarily do so willingly. As Reverend John O'Grady,

representative of the National Catholic War Council, stated in 1919:

> In order to teach the immigrants religion, human rights, and the fundamentals of citizenship, the church has been compelled to adjust itself to their languages and their racial ideas. Very few Americans appreciate the difficulty under which the church has labored in this regard. If it had antagonized the immigrants in matters of language and of race, as many would-be Americanizers have done, it would have been compelled to sacrifice the many other good things which it has done for them. We are only too glad to have the government save us the embarrassment of having to solve the language question (Thompson 1971:301).

This wave of immigrants came at a time when the western frontier was closing and the American labor movement was beginning (Molesky 1988:44). The economic threat posed by the huge numbers of immigrants -- they made up one third of the labor force of the major industries in 1909 -- resulted in laws excluding foreigners from certain professions on the basis of English literacy requirements in entrance exams (Leibowitz 1976:460).

The nativist atmosphere increased in the country and organizations such as the Immigrants Resistance League blamed immigrants for the decline of conditions in the cities. The Ku Klux Klan resurfaced in 1915, dedicated to preserving the racial and ideological purity of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant America. The Klan's membership peaked at the end of this time period with more than 4.5 million members.

The English language became an important element in what was to be known as the Americanization Movement and education played a key role. The Americanization Movement differed from the more radical nativist movements of the 1830s and 1840s in

that it "proved more centrist, involving intellectuals, educators, social workers, business leaders, and legislators, and many of its supporters favored education over repression" (Baron 1990:133).

Perhaps the best description of the goal of the Americanization Movement comes from President Theodore Roosevelt who, in 1910, told immigrants:

> We have room for but one language in this country and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house (Crawford 1989:23).

The Americanization Campaign began in 1915 when government agencies and other organizations began to seek funds and authority for implementing Americanization programs (Thompson 1971:22-23). The Bureau of Naturalization, the Bureau of Education, the National Security League, the Committee on Education of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and the National Education Association, in addition to state-level agencies, actively supported the movement (Thompson 1971:47-48).

Since 87% of the non-English speaking immigrants counted in the 1910 Census were 21 years of age and over (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1914a:1280-1281), the main thrust of the Americanization movement was for the adult population, through night schools and instruction provided at the workplace.

Employers became involved in the movement. The National Americanization Committee implemented an "English First" project in Detroit in 1915 with the cooperation of employers like Henry Ford, who made attendance mandatory for his

foreign-born employees (Crawford 1989:22). The graduation ceremonies at the Ford Motor Company's Americanization School were symbolic of the movement:

> ... featured a pageant in which the graduates entered wearing signs stating their countries of origin. They were ushered into a gigantic simulated melting pot as the teachers cleansed them with huge scrub brushes. Finally, they emerged with new signs proclaiming that they were 100 percent Americans (Stein 1986:5).

Certainly the magazines of the time reflect what Daniels (1990:8) describes as "a very distinct watershed occurred between 1915 and 1920, when differences in language became a very contentious public issue."

American isolation ended with World War I and a new spirit, known as 100-percent Americanism, "demanded an unprecedented degree of national solidarity; loyalty and social conformity became virtually synonymous" (Higham 1984:53). World War I caused most instruction *in* and *of* languages other than English to come to an abrupt halt. Editorials warned Americans against immigrants whose loyalty to the United States was in question, particularly those who did not speak English. The War also threatened individuals' rights to use other languages, particularly German:

> Several states passed laws and emergency decrees banning German speech in the classroom, on the street, in church, in public meetings, even on the telephone. In the Midwest at least 18,000 persons were charged under these laws by 1921 (Crawford 1989:23).

Between 1890 and 1920, the desire for democratic education grew, and one of its byproducts was the firm establishment of the study of English in the schools and colleges (Parker 1954:75). By the 1890s, public schools were meeting their quotas for students

and no longer felt as much need to offer bilingual programs to attract immigrant students.

However, in locations where linguistic minorities comprised a significant portion of the population, instruction *in* languages other than English continued to be provided. Kloss (1962 cited in Andersson and Boyer 1978:48-49) provides data regarding the number of students enrolled in German dual language programs in both private and public elementary schools in 1900, as shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

ENROLLMENTS IN GERMAN DUAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMS, 1900

| PLACE | PRIVATE | PUBLIC | TOTAL | % OF ALL PUPILS |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| New Braunfels, TX | 120 | 240 | 360 | 100 |
| Belleville, IL | 960 | 2,026 | 2,986 | 71 |
| New Ulm, MN | 330 | 575 | 905 | 90 |
| Cincinnati, OH | 10,700 | 17,287 | 27,987 | 50 |
| Cleveland, OH | 8,041 | 17,643 | 25,684 | 40 |
| Columbus, OH | 1,580 | 3,980 | 5,560 | 22 |
| Dayton, OH | 1,320 | 2,203 | 3,523 | 25 |
| Saginaw, MI | 250 | 1,130 | 1,380 | 33 |
| Baltimore, MD | 7,250 | 8,450 | 15,700 | 16 |
| Indianapolis, IN | 1,861 | 4,537 | 6,398 | 18 |
| Lancaster, PA | 980 | 580 | 1,560 | 25 |

Source: Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer. *Bilingual Schooling in the United States - Second Edition.* (Austin, TX: National Educational Laboratory Publishers, Inc.) 1978, pages 48-49.

Furthermore, in Milwaukee, for example, in districts where the Polish or Italian population constituted 75% of the total population and 75% of the parents so desired, the native language could be studied. In 1917, there were 3,553 children studying Polish and 990 studying Italian. In addition, 31,306 students were studying German (Bagster-Collins 1930:26). During this time period, "Cincinnati's program attracted over one-third of the student population, Milwaukee's nearly two-thirds, and Indianapolis' over one-fifth (Schlossman 1983:176).

However, according to Leibowitz (1976:451): "Increased interest in English as the language of instruction began in the late 1880s and continued through World War I and was related to the religious and economic fears engendered by the increased immigration and the wartime xenophobia during these years." By 1903, 14 states had passed laws requiring English as the medium of instruction in public schools. These laws undoubtedly had an effect on the academic achievement of non-English-speaking students. Perlmann (1990:36-37) used a 1908 survey of public schools to compare the high school entry rates of children of native whites and children of immigrants from non-English-speaking countries. His finding that "the children of immigrants from non-English-speaking countries were far less likely to enter high school than the children of native whites" is documented by the statistics in Table 7.

TABLE 7

HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATES IN 1908

| CITY | % OF CHILDREN OF NATIVE WHITES | % OF CHILDREN OF NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS |
|---|---|---|
| New York | 32% | 13% |
| Chicago | 42% | 18% |
| Philadelphia | 27% | 13% |
| St. Louis | 27% | 10% |
| Boston | 70% | 38% |

Source: Joel Perlmann, "Historical Legacies: 1840-1920." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 508 (March 1990), page 36.

In 1919, there were 21 states -- Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, and West Virginia -- which had mandated English as the basic language of instruction (Thompson 1971:288). By 1923, 34 states had such laws (Leibowitz 1971:8). These laws usually accompanied other laws related to the Americanization movement such as requiring the pledge of allegiance and the teaching of American history and government (Leibowitz 1976:452).

In the public schools, "bilingual education was officially restricted from before

World War I to after World War II almost to the point of extinction" (Castellanos 1983:45). Private schools, however, continued to teach *in* languages other than English. In Minnesota, 38,353 students were enrolled in 307 parochial and private schools, only 94 of which provided instruction exclusively in English.

> Of the 213 bilingual schools in this state, 195 use the English and German tongues, 10 use English and Polish, 4 English and French, 1 uses English and Bohemian, 1 English and Dutch, 1 English and Norwegian, 1 English and Danish (Thompson 1971:150).

The situation in Nebraska was reported in 1917 as follows:

> Foreign-language schools are located in 59 counties of Nebraska. There is a total of 262 schools in which it is estimated that 10,000 children receive instruction in foreign languages, chiefly in German ... Five thousand five hundred and fifty-four children are attending the schools of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church. Of these 379 teachers in private schools, 2 give instruction in Danish, 6 in Polish, 14 in Swedish, and 357 in German (Thompson 1971:147).

Following this report, the Nebraska State Council of Defense circulated a resolution requesting that no foreign language be taught in any of the private or denominational schools of the state. In 1919, legislation was enacted which provided for private, denominational, and parochial schools to be governed by state school laws. The Siman law, also enacted in 1919, prohibited the teaching of any language other than English in grades below high school (Thompson 1971:149).

Groups such as the Franco-American Congress took the position that while it was desirable for immigrants to learn English, there was no justification for the abandonment of mother tongues. It went on record in 1919 "against all attempts to suppress or restrict

the use or the teaching of languages other than English either in the home, in the schools, or in the press" (Thompson 1971:135). But the general public mistrusted the motives of schools where instruction was provided in languages other than English. "So far as we may generalize about this relation, it may be said that where the private school is unilingual and English, the motive is religious; where the private school is bilingual, the motive is nationalistic or racial fully as much as religious" (Thompson 1971:150). Transitional bilingual education was a bit more acceptable:

> The bilingual school in many instances has been the bridge in Americanization and made assimilation gradual and consequently sound...The bilingual school which instills the new allegiance without relinquishing old associations can be and usually is an effective institution for the development of citizenship. There is a danger, of course, that the bilingual school will preserve indefinitely something like a dual allegiance. That the bilingual school promises to do this thing is feared by many, but the complaint of the immigrant is that the children break away from traditions of the parents too fast, that they insist on becoming Americans too soon; foreign-born parents attest that their children prefer English to the native tongue in spite of all conserving influences (Thompson 1971:153).

Frances FitzGerald, in a review of American history books, describes how American society and groups within it have been viewed. She notes that the first American history textbook was written after the American Revolution. Consequently most texts are "still accounts of the nation-state" (FitzGerald 1979:47). American history texts did not come into wide-spread use until the 1890s. She believes this fact "suggests that until the 1890s Americans thought of themselves as belonging to a particular culture and holding certain values; they defined themselves by that culture much more than by

the fact of the nation-state" (FitzGerald 1979:48).

As the educational system in America changed during this period, becoming more democratic and allowing for more choice in college courses, the study of classical languages declined while the popularity of modern foreign languages increased. In 1918 the American Classical League was founded "to see what could be done to remedy a deteriorating situation in its own field" (Parker 1954:76), but the decline in support for classical languages was permanent. By 1913, 89% of American colleges participating in a survey required a modern foreign language not only for entrance, but also for graduation (Parker 1954:76).

In 1893 and again in 1899, Modern Languages Association committees, in conjunction with the National Education Association, issued reports on the status of foreign language study. These influential reports helped to solidify the position of the "discipline" of modern languages by clarifying its aims and methods (Parker 1954:76).

College entrance requirements for foreign language study declined during the period. While in 1913 only 11% had no such requirement, the number had increased to 30% by 1922 (Bagster-Collins 1930:40). There was also limited study of modern foreign languages in the elementary schools during this period. French, for example, was taught in Boston elementary schools beginning in 1895. By 1915, French, German, Italian, and Spanish were being offered in junior high schools in that city. French was also being taught in Massachusetts and Rhode Island elementary schools (Bagster-Collins 1930:24-

25).

In addition, there was an increase in the study of modern foreign languages in high schools during this period. Parker cites the enrollments listed in Table 8 for language classes in American secondary schools during the period 1890-1922.

TABLE 8

FOREIGN LANGUAGE ENROLLMENTS 1890-1922

| YEAR | ALL H.S. STUDENTS | % LATIN | % MODERN LANGUAGE | % FRENCH | % GERMAN | % SPANISH |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1890 | 202,963 | 34.7% | 16.3% | 5.7% | 10.5% | — |
| 1895 | 350,099 | 43.9% | 17.9% | 6.5% | 11.4% | — |
| 1900 | 519,251 | 50.6% | 22.1% | 7.8% | 14.3% | — |
| 1905 | 679,702 | 50.2% | 29.3% | 9.1% | 20.2% | — |
| 1910 | 812,358 | 54.5% | 38.0% | 11.0% | 26.3% | 0.7% |
| 1915 | 1,328,984 | 37.3% | 35.9% | 8.8% | 24.4% | 2.7% |
| 1922 | 2,230,000 | 27.5% | 27.4% | 15.5% | 0.6% | 11.3% |

Source: William Riley Parker, *The National Interest and Foreign Languages* (New York: United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) 1961, pages 85-86.

Two interesting patterns can be found in these statistics. The first that although the number of students studying Latin outnumbered the number of studying modern foreign languages throughout this period, the enrollments for Latin peaked in 1910, prior

to World War I, while the enrollments for modern foreign languages continued to grow until the War. The second pattern to note is the greater increase of enrollments for modern foreign languages than for Latin. While the number of students studying Latin increased by 19.8% between 1890 and its height of popularity in 1910, the enrollments for modern foreign languages increased by 24.3% between 1890 and 1915. Both Latin and modern foreign language study enrollments appear to have declined after World War I, but close examination of the statistics regarding modern foreign language study reveal that while German enrollments virtually disappeared (from 9.7% of modern language enrollments in 1915 to 0.7% in 1922), the enrollments for French and Spanish actually increased during the same time period. French enrollments went from 9.7% in 1915 to 17.9% in 1922; Spanish enrollments grew from 3.0% in 1915 to 13.0% in 1922.

Multilingualism in America changed dramatically between 1890 and 1922. On the one hand the diversity and number of speakers of languages other than English increased significantly due to massive immigration and bilingual education was provided throughout the country. On the other hand, reaction to massive immigration by mainstream Americans, in the form of the Americanization movement toward the end of this period, put a virtual end to instruction *in* languages other than English. Meanwhile, modern foreign language instruction became a recognized profession. With the exception of German around the time of World War I, foreign language enrollments actually increased.

Multilingualism in a Changing America: 1923 to 1953

In the early part of this time period, the United States was recovering from World War I. It then was hit with a serious depression, lasting from 1929 to 1940. World War II not only improved the economic condition of the country, but also brought the United States out of its post World War I isolationism. Following World War II, American society rapidly changed with the development of mass communication.

In 1923, the total population of the United States was 111,947,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:8). Immigration peaked in 1924, with; 706,000 entrants, and then significantly declined. Between 1931 and 1940, only slightly more than one-half million immigrants came; between 1941 and 1950 there were only one million immigrants (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975:105).

Figures on the mother tongue of the foreign born white population collected by the Censuses of 1930 and 1940 (such figures were not collected in 1950) are shown in Table 9.

TABLE 9

PRINCIPAL MOTHER TONGUES OF THE FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OF THE U.S. 1930 AND 1940

| MOTHER TONGUE | 1930 | 1930 % | 1940 | 1940 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| English and Celtic | 3,097,021 | 23.2 | 2,506,420 | 22.6 |
| German | 2,188,006 | 16.4 | 1,589,040 | 14.3 |
| Italian | 1,808,289 | 13.5 | 1,561,100 | 14.1 |
| Yiddish | 1,222,658 | 9.1 | 924,440 | 8.3 |
| Polish | 965,899 | 7.2 | 801,680 | 7.2 |
| Swedish | 615,465 | 4.6 | 423,200 | 3.8 |
| French | 523,297 | 3.9 | 359,520 | 3.2 |
| Norwegian | 345,522 | 2.6 | 232,820 | 2.1 |
| Russian | 315,721 | 2.4 | 356,940 | 3.2 |
| Magyar | 250,393 | 1.9 | n/a | n/a |
| Slovak | 240,196 | 1.8 | n/a | n/a |
| Czech | 201,138 | 1.5 | 159,640 | 1.4 |
| Spanish | n/a | n/a | 428,360 | 3.9 |
| Other mother tongues | 1,592,802 | 11.9 | 1,517,960 | 13.7 |
| Not reported | n/a | n/a | 248,500 | 2.2 |
| TOTAL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION | 13,366,407 | 100% | 11,109,620 | 100% |

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, Volume II, General Report, Statistics by Subjects* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office) 1933, p. 342 and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population, Mother Tongue* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office) 1943, p. 2.

In 1940 the Bureau of the Census also attempted to determine the language distribution among the total white population, not just the foreign-born. Of a total white population of 118,392,040, 78.6% (93,039,640) had English as a mother tongue and 18.6% (21,996,240) had a non-English and non-Celtic mother tongue (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1943:2). The distribution by nativity and parentage reveals an interesting pattern of maintenance non-English mother tongues among the second generation for many language groups, including German, Italian, Polish, Spanish, French, Norwegian, and Czech. Language maintenance into the third generation is documented for Spanish and French, as shown in Table 10.

TABLE 10

MOTHER TONGUE OF THE WHITE POPULATION,
BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR THE U.S.: 1940

| MOTHER TONGUE | TOTAL NUMBER | FOREIGN-BORN | NATIVE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE | NATIVE OF NATIVE PARENTAGE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ENGLISH | 93,039,640 | 2.7% | 13.1% | 84.2% |
| GERMAN | 4,949,780 | 32.1% | 49.2% | 18.7% |
| ITALIAN | 3,766,820 | 41.4% | 55.2% | 3.3% |
| POLISH | 2,416,320 | 33.2% | 59.1% | 7.7% |
| SPANISH | 1,861,400 | 23.0% | 38.4% | 38.6% |
| YIDDISH | 1,751,100 | 52.8% | 44.2% | 3.0% |
| FRENCH | 1,412,060 | 25.5% | 37.8% | 36.7% |
| SWEDISH | 830,900 | 50.9% | 45.0% | 4.1% |
| NORWEGIAN | 658,220 | 35.4% | 52.3% | 12.3% |
| RUSSIAN | 585,080 | 61.0% | 36.6% | 2.4% |
| CZECH | 520,440 | 30.7% | 53.6% | 15.7% |
| ALL OTHER | 3,244,120 | 46.8% | 47.3% | 5.9% |
| NOT REPORTED | 3,356,160 | 7.4% | 7.9% | 84.7% |
| TOTAL WHITE POPULATION | 118,392,040 | 9.4% | 19.6% | 71.1% |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population, Mother Tongue* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office) 1943, p. 2.

In 1924 the National Origins Act was passed, establishing immigration quotas through 1927 based on the percentage of the ethnic composition of the United States population in 1890. By using the 1890 Census rather than the 1910 Census as a basis, the law allocated approximately 85% of the total quota for immigration to northwestern Europe (Higham 1984:55). After 1927, a total quota of 150,000 was to be distributed based on the distribution of national origins in the white population in 1920. The significant difference between using 1890 and 1920 as a basis was in the distribution of quotas among northwestern European countries. Using 1890 as a basis, Great Britain received 21% of the total immigrants; when 1920 was used as the basis, Great Britain received 57%. Despite the protestations from Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians, the plan did go into effect in 1929 (Higham 1984:56).

Immigration took a sharp decline during the Great Depression in the 1930s, with only 500,000 entering the country. Immigration laws institutionalized requirements for English literacy. The Nationality Act of 1940 required immigrants to speak English in order to be naturalized. The Internal Security Act of 1950 required them to read and write English as well (Leibowitz 1976:459). Economic pressures of World War II led to the 1942 "Bracero" program, allowing Mexican agricultural workers to enter the United States and Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Laws in 1943. After the War, the United States began accepting refugee populations, enacting the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. The McCarren-Walter

Immigration Act of 1952, however, reaffirmed the restrictionist orientation of immigration policy by maintaining the national origins quotas for Europe (Bean et al 1989:12).

With reduced immigration -- the percentage of the foreign-born in the population was cut in half -- many Americans became nostalgic about the past. The Americanization Movement had already begun to subside by the time this period began. America was more concerned with the problems of the Depression and, later, World War II. Anti-foreigner sentiment was directed at specific groups, namely the Japanese who were interned during the War and the Mexicans.

Immigration did increase after the World War II and included both refugees from Europe and Hispanics from Mexico and Puerto Rico. States enacted laws requiring the use of English for most governmental activities, including notices in newspapers, the right to vote or hold office, and the licensing of businesses and professions (Hernández-Chávez 1988:50).

By 1923, 34 states had instituted laws requiring English as the medium of instruction in schools and the number increased to 37 states by 1925 (Leibowitz 1971:8). States were also restricting the use of foreign languages in private schools. The most important event of this period regarding mainstream Americans' attitudes toward bilingualism was the Supreme Court decision in *Meyer v. Nebraska*. In this case a teacher in a private German school was accused of violating the Nebraska state law

prohibiting the teaching in languages other than English. The law actually prohibited teaching any subject *in* a language other than English and the teaching *of* languages other than English before the eighth grade (Leibowitz 1971:21). The Supreme Court overturned the Nebraska law as a violation of due process and under protections of freedom of religion. In this and other school regulation cases brought before the Supreme Court in the 1920s, the Court consistently expressed a view that "requiring that the language of instruction be English in a state or territory of the United States was constitutional, but restriction of complementary or supplementary secondary language efforts by various ethnic groups was unconstitutional" (Leibowitz 1976:452). In effect, the Court reaffirmed the state policy of requiring English as the medium of instruction but stopped short of prohibiting foreign language instruction. Thus, a clear distinction between teaching *in* languages other than English and the teaching *of* languages other than English in public schools was made.

While there were some parochial schools in the rural areas of the Midwest which provided bilingual education programs, these types of programs were virtually non-existent during this period. Not only were native languages not used for instruction, but those who spoke those languages in school were severely punished. For example, Spanish-speakers were routinely punished for using Spanish in Texas schools.

While the earlier 19th century history texts defined the American identity by religion (assuming that all Americans were Protestants), 20th century texts defined it by

race and culture. After 1900, a new distinction appeared in American history textbooks: there are "we Americans" and there are "the immigrants" (FitzGerald 1979:76). Immigrants were presented as a problem for "we Americans," and texts from the 1920s supported national origin quotas on immigration. FitzGerald (1979:79) offers this example: "Great racial groups, especially such as speak foreign languages, or belong to races with which we do not readily intermarry, do add to the difficulty of solving certain social problems." Although the "Melting Pot" concept began appearing in texts in the 1940s, the distinction between "we Americans" and "the immigrants" remained until the 1960s.

After World War II, "cultural deprivation" theories were advanced, exchanging the previous era's "military style assimilation" with a "missionary style" (Stein, 1985). Schools became the agent for helping students improve achievement by overcoming this handicap and learning the "American" culture. In addition, as more technical workers were needed by the country's industrial development, industrial education was emphasized.

World War I had marked the beginning of a 25-year decline in the study of languages in the United States. The reaction to the Germans in World War I virtually eliminated all study of that language, but did not spread to cover all languages other than English. The same laws which prohibited bilingual education in the United States forbade the study of foreign languages until the law was clarified 1923. Foreign

language instruction, although not increasing, still continued throughout this period. World War II contributed to an increase in interest.

Parker cites the figures in Table 11 for language study between 1922 and 1954:

TABLE 11

FOREIGN LANGUAGE ENROLLMENTS, 1922-1954

| YEAR | ALL H.S. STUDENTS | % LATIN | % MODERN LANGUAGE | % FRENCH | % GERMAN | % SPANISH |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1922 | 2,230,000 | 27.5% | 27.4% | 15.5% | 0.6% | 11.3% |
| 1928 | 3,354,473 | 22.0% | 25.2% | 14.0% | 1.0% | 9.4% |
| 1934 | 5,620,625 | 16.0% | 19.5% | 10.9% | 2.4% | 6.2% |
| 1949 | 5,399,452 | 7.8% | 13.7% | 4.7% | 0.8% | 8.2% |
| 1954 | 6,582,300 | 6.9% | 14.2% | 5.6% | 0.8% | 7.3% |

Source: William Riley Parker, *The National Interest and Foreign Languages* (New York: United States National Commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) 1961, pages 86 and 94.

As can be seen in the table above, enrollments for Latin study steadily declined between 1922 and 1954. The study of modern foreign languages reached its lowest point in 1949. 1922 also marked the birth of the FLES movement -- the teaching of foreign languages in the elementary schools -- with the establishment of a French program in the elementary schools in Cleveland.

In 1924 the Carnegie Corporation financed a five-year study of foreign languages

which set national policy until World War II. One of the many reports from this study, *The Coleman Report,* concluded that reading "was the only attainable objective in public secondary schools" (Thompson 1977:121).

Over the next few decades, America's isolationist position and economic difficulties contributed to the general disinterest in the study of modern foreign languages. The high proportion of teachers of foreign birth and training was seen as an inner weakness in the modern foreign language teaching profession (Parker 1954:78). Over the years the study of any language (classical or modern) was questioned as a essential part of the secondary school curriculum, which was increasingly aimed at a population which would not go on to college. As secondary schools decreased modern foreign language study, colleges dropped their foreign language entrance requirements. By 1954, only 30% of 767 accredited liberal arts colleges had retained the modern foreign language enrollment requirement and some 36 schools eliminated the requirement for graduation (Parker 1954:78).

During this period attitudes toward foreign language instruction became more positive, although not necessarily in practice. Even though World War II focused attention on the fact that few Americans were actually proficient in any foreign languages, educational institutions did not encourage the study of languages. Enrollments continued to decline in colleges and only minimally increased in secondary schools. Between 1947 and 1953, forty colleges eliminated the foreign language requirement for

graduation. Even more eliminated the entrance requirement as a means of encouraging returning war veterans to enroll.

Between 1923 and 1953, multilingualism declined in America. The Americanization process worked for most groups (except those who were racially different and were never encouraged to assimilate). Language shift was occurring in the three-generation pattern. Limited immigration discouraged language maintenance. Bilingual education was virtually non-existent during this period. Cultural deprivation and "missionary" style approaches to non-English speaking students were popular and were all conducted in English. Foreign language instruction declined in popularity until 1949 and then began to increase, reflecting mainstream Americans' greater appreciation for the position of the United States in the world and the overseas experience of the veterans of World War II. Most important, the imposition of English as the medium of instruction in public schools was reaffirmed by the Supreme Court. Maintenance of non-English mother tongues became the province of private schools.

Multilingualism in a Prospering America: 1953 to 1968

Post-World War II America prospered. The standard of living rose; people moved from the cities to the suburbs; they bought automobiles and televisions. It was a period of economic growth. Racial and ethnic discrimination had begun to focus on Black - White issues, resulting in less overt prejudice against linguistic minorities,

although the McCarthy era did raise some concern about foreigners.

The current wave of immigration began during this period. Two refugee relief acts, one in 1953 and one in 1957, along with a 1961 law designed to assist orphans and divided families, authorized increased non-quota immigration (Higham 1984:63). In the late 1950s, almost 400,000 Mexicans entered the United States each year under the Bracero Program. The program was terminated in 1964, leading to immediate increases in illegal immigration.

President Johnson made immigration reform an important part of his civil rights program. In the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, the national origins quota system for immigration was abolished and there was a large increase in the number of Asian immigrants. The Act established kinship ties with United States citizens or resident aliens as the dominant criteria for obtaining entrance to the United States. This era also saw the mass exodus of Cuban refugees. An estimated 2.6 million immigrants arrived in the 1950s and another 4.1 million came during the 1960s.

Although the use of non-English languages in public schools was minimal between 1923 and 1968, these languages were used in everyday life. In 1960 there were 620 non-English newspapers, magazines and news publications with a circulation of approximately 5.5 million. There were 547 radio stations which had regular non-English broadcasts and a total of 1,600 radio stations which broadcasted more than 6,000 hours of programs in languages other than English per week. There were 550 movie theaters which showed

non-English movies almost exclusively (Kloss 1977:55-56; Grosjean 1982:61-62). Moreover, Joshua Fishman's Language Resources Project identified 2,000 ethnic schools in the United States (Grosjean 1982:69).

There was a surge in the population as a result of the "Baby Boom," which strained American educational institutions during the 1950s. Compulsory attendance laws put pressure on public high schools to offer alternative curricula which were appropriate for students not going on to college. There was an educational crisis declared after the launching of the Russian spacecraft Sputnik demonstrated Russian superiority in science.

American education focused on higher education as millions of Americans were educated through the G.I. Bill. On the public school level, there was an initial awareness of the need for special educational approaches for non-English speaking students. What distinguishes this time period is the significant involvement of the federal government and the courts in education and social affairs, including the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the National Defense Education Act, Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* that segregation was unconstitutional would focus attention on the educational plight of minority students. Additional federal policy against discrimination was contained in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which included "national origin" as one of the bases upon which discrimination

was declared illegal. The War on Poverty gave a special role to education. Inadequate education was seen as a cause for poverty and, consequently, compensatory educational programs were seen as a mechanism for improving educational attaintment and eliminating poverty. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act reflected society's concern with the less privileged in America. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 authorized bilingual ballots.

It was not until 1953 that there was an increase in the number of secondary and college students studying modern foreign languages. But the real impetus to increasing support for foreign language instruction was the Russian launching of Sputnik in 1957. In response, government agencies, universities, and the Modern Language Association worked together to "devise a federally funded program that resulted in a unified approach to the teaching of foreign languages, one that remains a dominant paradigm in many of today's secondary school classrooms" (Phillips 1990: 554-55). The National Defense Education Act, signed in 1958, gave a significant boost to the study of foreign languages in the United States. Title VI (Foreign Studies and Language Development) of the law authorized the expenditure of funds "to establish, equip, and maintain undergraduate and graduate programs and centers for the teaching of any modern foreign language and other disciplinary fields relating to the areas in which such languages are spoken" (Grant 1980:98). In addition to programs established under Title VI of NDEA, research projects and graduate fellowships in foreign languages were funded under other sections

of the law. Another effect of NDEA was the institutionalization of methods courses for teaching foreign languages and the establishment of graduate programs leading to degrees in foreign language education (Phillips 1990:55).

Title III of NDEA provided funds to states to strengthen instruction in modern foreign languages in the elementary and secondary schools. Parker (1961:13) notes that "By the end of 1960, 37 states had appointed 50 foreign language supervisors to help local schools to strengthen their programs." Prior to that, there were only six supervisors employed in all State Education Agencies. NDEA Summer Institutes operated from 1959 through the late 1960s and approximately 30,000 teachers received training in 587 NDEA institutes (Phillips 1990:55).

In 1960, out of a total school enrollment of 8,649,495, 1,867,358 students were enrolled in foreign language classes. French was being studied by 744,404 students; German by 150,764; and Spanish by 933,409. An additional half million students were studying modern foreign languages in institutions of higher education (Committee on Education and Labor 1981:132-133). Countless more were studying foreign languages in the elementary schools, because the 1950s were the heyday of the FLES movement, supported by the United States Office of Education (Kloss 1977:35).

In 1961, Congress passed the Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Program. Also known as the Fulbright-Hays Act, this legislation provided funding research abroad programs and teacher exchanges.

By the end of this period, the foreign language teaching profession had gained significantly in number and stature. In 1967, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) was founded to represent the interests of foreign language teachers. The Modern Language Association, which continued to address the professional needs of those interested in English and foreign language literature, supported the establishment of this new association (Phillips 1990:55).

In 1963, in response to the educational needs of the large influx of Cuban refugees in Miami, Coral Way Elementary School began a bilingual program for English-speaking and Spanish-speaking students. The instructional model called for the students to receive half a day's instruction in their native language and during the other half of the day the concepts were reinforced in the students' second language. Once students became functional in the second language, content material was taught in the native language of the teacher, either English or Spanish. By 1966, pilot bilingual education projects had been adopted by schools in throughout the Southwest, including Texas, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and California. Between 1966 and 1968, bilingual programs were also established in New Jersey and New York. While the particular model used may have differed in each site, all of the programs utilized the students' native language for instruction.

Multilingualism in America between 1953 and 1968 was almost exclusively foreign language instruction. Public support for such programs was high and the

government actively encouraged such programs. The government also evidenced beginning concern with the educational situation of minority students, laying the groundwork for the developments of the next time period.

Multilingualism in an Ethnic-Conscious America: 1968 to 1980

American society's perception of itself changed between 1968 and 1980. Rapidly developing technology and mass communication, coupled with the war in Vietnam, brought the rest of the world to America. Within its own borders, ethnic groups began to demand recognition and equal opportunities to participate in American society.

The 1965 immigration legislation was updated with a preference system which was extended to the Western Hemisphere by laws passed in 1976 and 1978. The problem of illegal immigration became more apparent during this period. While approximately 1.6 million illegal immigrants had been apprehended between 1961 and 1970, over 8.3 million were apprehended between 1971 and 1980 (Morris 1985:51).

Between 1968 and 1980, immigration changed the ethnic composition of America. Immigration from northwestern Europe and Canada dropped from 52% in the 1950s to 10% in the 1970s. Peoples from Mexico, the Philippines, Italy, Cuba, and Korea predominated (Higham 1984:66). Over five million immigrants entered the country. In addition, refugees poured in. Two types of refugees entered the country. The first wave of Indochinese in 1975 came from the upper-class; the second wave of Indochinese were

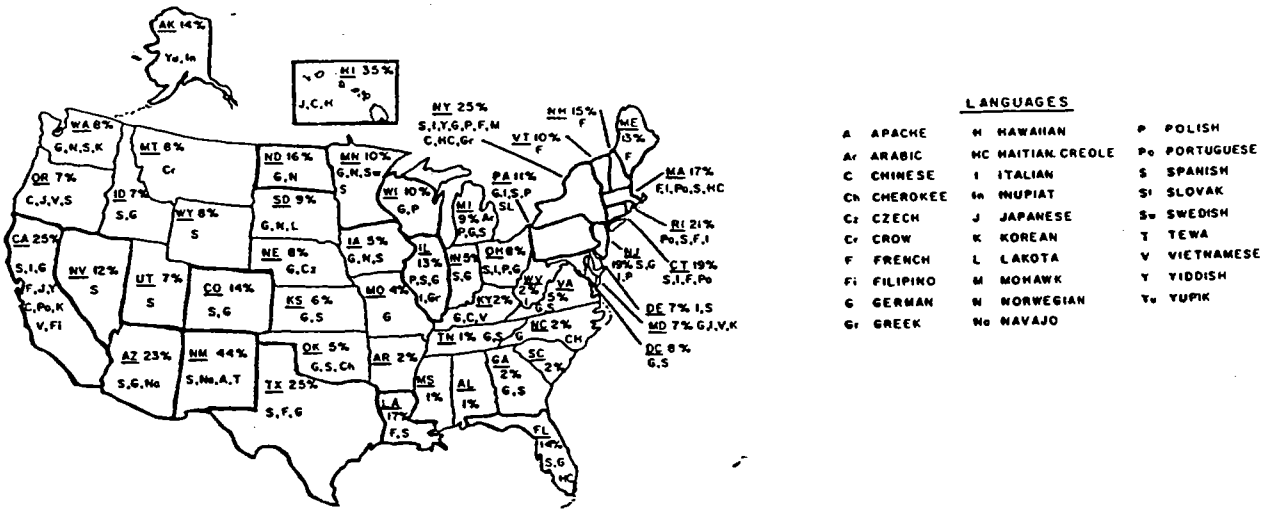
the boat people in 1978, who came from the lower-classes. At one point in 1979, 14,000 Indochinese were entering the United States each month.

The 1970 Census showed that six language groups had over one million mother-tongue speakers each. Spanish-speakers represented the largest group with 7.8 million, followed by German (6 million), Italian (4.1 million), French (2.6 million), Polish (2.4 million), and Yiddish (1.6 million) (Kloss 1977:18). The 1976 Survey of Income and Education also collected data on non-English language background persons. Map 4 show the distribution of these 27,985,000 people.

MAP 4

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE BACKGROUND PERSONS, 1976

Estimated proportion of persons with a non-English language background in each of the fifty states and the distribution of some of the minority languages in these states. States whose proportion is 10 percent or more are etched in thicker lines. (Based on the 1976 Survey of Income and Education, *National Center for Education Statistics Bulletin* 78 B-5.)




Source: François Grosjean. *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press) 1982, page 47.

The 1980 Census asked questions regarding current language usage rather than asking the mother tongue of the respondent. Consequently those persons currently living in households where only English was spoken, but who did speak a language other than English as a mother tongue, were excluded from the data.

The 34.6 million people who were identified as speaking languages other than English in the 1980 Census represented 15% of the total population of the United States. Spanish was spoken by 45% of the language minority population. Four languages (French, German, Italian and Polish) each had at least one million speakers and, in all, there were at least 100,000 speakers of thirty languages (Waggoner 1988:80). Two-thirds of this population resided in eight states (California, New York, Texas, Illinois, Florida, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts). Moreover, the language minority population constituted nearly 50% of the total population of New Mexico; more than one-third of Hawaii; and at least a quarter of the population in California, Arizona, Texas and New York. The school-age (5-17 years old) language minority population totaled 7.9 million and accounted for over 50% of the school population in New Mexico and more than a third in Hawaii, California, Arizona and Texas (Waggoner 1988:81).

What may be surprising to many is that twice as many speakers of languages other than English were born in the United States than those born in other countries. Of the 32.7 million language minority persons aged five and older, 22.6 million were born in one of the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico or another United States

territory or possession (Waggoner 1988:85).

Foreign language enrollments peaked at 28% of secondary school students in 1968 (Thompson 1980:121) and then began to decline. Documentation submitted for the 1981 Congressional hearings on the proposed "National Security and Economic Growth Through Foreign Language Improvement bill (H.R. 3231) provides data for Table 12 showing foreign language enrollments in public secondary schools between 1968 and 1978:

TABLE 12

FOREIGN LANGUAGE ENROLLMENTS 1968-1978

| YEAR | TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT | FOREIGN LANGUAGE ENROLLMENT | FRENCH ENROLLMENT | GERMAN ENROLLMENT | SPANISH ENROLLMENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1968 | 12,721,352 | 3,518,413 | 1,328,100 | 423,196 | 1,698,034 |
| 1970 | 13,301,883 | 3,514,053 | 1,230,686 | 410,535 | 1,810,775 |
| 1974 | 13,648,906 | 3,127,336 | 977,858 | 392,983 | 1,678,057 |
| 1978 | 13,941,369 | 3,048,331 | 855,998 | 330,637 | 1,631,375 |

Source: U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor. "National Security and Economic Growth Through Foreign Language Improvement" Hearings before the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education of the Committee on Education and Labor (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office) 1981, pages 130-132.

Bilingual education in the United States was not reinstituted on a large scale until the 1960s. Several actions taken in the previous period combined to make the environment conducive to bilingual education at that time: the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the influx of Cuban refugees in the 1960s. In 1968, twenty-one states still had English-only instruction laws on their books. In seven states, including Texas, teachers could be subject to criminal penalties or lose their teaching licenses if they taught bilingually (Schneider 1974:7).

The Civil Rights movement of the early 1960s paved the way for the possibility of a federal law which encouraged the use of non-English languages for instruction in the public schools. The original Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 had focused attention on the needs of minority children. This, coupled with increasing ethnic awareness, forced people to begin to look at the situation of the Hispanic child.

In 1966, the National Education Association had sponsored a conference on the education of Spanish-speaking children in the schools of the Southwest. United States Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas had attended this conference and become a convert to bilingual education (Stein 1986:30). In the opening days of the 1967 Congress, he introduced a bill co-sponsored by Southwestern and Eastern Congressmen, S. 428 -- The American Bilingual Education Act -- as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. At the same time, more than three dozen bilingual education bills were

introduced in the House of Representatives.

Senator Yarborough explained the concept of his bill as:

> The concept of the bill is really very simple--so simple that it is amazing that in all of our years of striving for improved education the problem has never been given much attention. The problem is that many of our school-age children in this nation come from homes where the mother tongue is not English. As a result, these children enter schools not speaking English and not able to understand the instruction that is all conducted in English." (*Congressional Record* 1967: 37037).

The bill which was signed into law differed in several major ways from S. 428. First, as a result of a compromise, the scope of the program was expanded from "Spanish-speaking children" to "children of limited English speaking ability." "This broadening fundamentally transformed the focus into a remedial or compensatory program to serve children who were 'deficient' in English-language skills." (Lyons 1990:68). Second, certain proposed authorized activities were not contained in the final bill. Most importantly, the S. 428 provision for "the teaching of Spanish as the native language" was eliminated. Consequently, the program did not encourage development of native language skills. A second provision calling for recruitment of teachers of Mexican and Puerto Rican descent was also dropped, thus minimizing the value of the linguistic skills of language-minority Americans (Lyons 1990:68-69).

As a result of this compromise, the federal Bilingual Education Act enacted in 1968 was a voluntary, discretionary grant program designed as a compensatory, remedial approach to rectify a deficiency -- the lack of English language skills. The

demonstration program encouraged school districts to use the students' native language primarily for instruction as a means of increasing academic learning and English language acquisition.

Funding for Title VII increased between 1968 and the first reauthorization of Title VII in 1974. The original FY '69 appropriation of $7 million for 76 programs serving approximately 26,000 students increased to $45 million in FY '73. Several events took place during this time period which contributed to the acceptance of transitional bilingual education. First, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued Title VII program regulations. These rules for the implementation of the law indicated that although the Title VII ESEA program affirmed the primary importance of English, it also recognized that the use of a child's native language could help prevent retardation of school performance until sufficient command of English was attained (Schneider 1974:32). Thus the Title VII program was determined to be bilingual, but "transitional" in nature, reinforcing the goal of monolingualism in English.

In 1968, HEW had issued guidelines holding school systems responsible for making sure that national origin students were not denied educational access. In 1970, the Office of Civil Rights followed up on these guidelines by issuing a memorandum to all school districts with five percent or more national origin minority enrollments. This memo advised the local educational agencies that "where language barriers discriminate against Spanish surnames and other national origin minorities, such barriers must be

removed" (Schneider 1974:33).

In 1971, shortly after New Mexico became the first state in the nation to pass bilingual education legislation, the state of Massachusetts mandated teaching *in* languages other than English. In November of that year a law was signed which "called for each school district to take a yearly census of school-age children with limited English-speaking ability and to classify the children according to the language of which they possessed a primary speaking ability. It required the State to offer a program of up to three years of transitional bilingual education to such children whenever there were twenty or more within the district who spoke a common language other than English." (Castellanos 1983:95).

By the 1973-74 school year, ten states were spending their own monies on bilingual education (Castellanos 1983:102). Laws similar to Massachusetts' were passed in Illinois in 1973, in Texas in 1974, and in Pennsylvania by executive memorandum in 1974. Permissive laws were enacted by New Mexico and New York in 1973. Other states provided bilingual education without enacting laws or mandates, including South Carolina and California.

One of the most significant events of this time period was the 1974 Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols*. This class-action suit was brought on behalf of 2,800 Chinese students in the San Francisco Public Schools, 1,800 of whom were receiving absolutely no special instruction such as supplemental English instruction. It was alleged

that the school district had violated both the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Both the District Court and the Court of Appeals found no violation, with the Court of Appeals noting that the school district had no further duty to the non-English speaking Chinese students than "to provide them with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum as is provided to other children in the district" (*Lau v. Nichols* 1973 at 799).

In 1974, however, the United States Supreme Court ruled that there was a violation of Title VI -- that the Chinese students in the San Francisco School District were not receiving equal educational opportunity because they did not understand the language of instruction and the school district was not doing anything to assist these students. The Court noted that "imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic [English] skills is to make a mockery of public education" (*Lau v. Nichols* 1974 at 786). Although the Court did not endorse any particular approach in its decision, the case did reinforce the obligation of school districts to provide some type of specialized services for linguistic minority students. It increased public awareness of the educational needs of non-English-speaking students and gave credibility to the bilingual education approach.

It should also be noted that the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, which applies to all public schools (as opposed to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act which

only applies to public schools receiving federal funds), defined a denial of educational opportunity as "the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs" (*Equal Educational Opportunities Act* 1974: Section 1703 (f)).

Title VII was reauthorized in 1974, with the most significant change being the inclusion of a definition of a bilingual program. In bilingual programs, the law stated, "there is instruction given in, and study of, English and (to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system) the native language of the children of limited English speaking ability ... such instruction shall, to the extent necessary, be in all courses or subjects of study which will allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system" (Public Law 93-380 1974).

In 1975, HEW issued guidelines for compliance with Title VI under *Lau.* These guidelines, known as the *Lau Remedies,* recommended specific approaches and methods for identifying and educating national origin minority students. Furthermore, they "went beyond the *Lau* ruling to specify that schools should provide instruction to elementary students in their strongest language until they could participate effectively in English-only classrooms" (Lyons 1989:114). Between 1975 and 1980, the Office of Civil Rights of HEW negotiated 359 voluntary compliance plans adhering to the *Lau Remedies* (Lyons 1989:114).

In 1975, the National Association for Bilingual Education -- a national

professional membership association -- was formed to represent the growing profession of bilingual education teachers. NABE's mission was to promote educational excellence and equity for language minority students and the development of second language skills for all Americans. NABE has had to perform the dual role of maintaining the standards of the profession and advocating for the protection of the educational rights of linguistic minority children.

By 1976, bilingual education was mandated in ten states. It was permitted in another sixteen states. Fourteen more states had laws which were not explicit in prohibiting bilingual education. Only ten states actually prohibited bilingual education and four of these were receiving federal funds to implement bilingual education programs at the time (Grosjean 1982:78).

The 1978 reauthorization of Title VII broadened the eligibility criteria from children of 'limited English speaking ability' to children with 'limited English proficiency.' Thus, children could remain in bilingual programs until they could function in all four skill areas of reading, writing, speaking and understanding in English. The definition of a bilingual program was modified to add that the purpose of using the students' native language was to "achieve competence in the English language." (Public Law 95-561 1978).

The period 1968-1980 marked another dramatic shift in mainstream Americans' attitudes toward bilingualism. A continuing influx of refugees and immigrants put

pressure on educational institutions to meet the needs of linguistically and cultural different children. The ethnic-awareness movement also contributed to positive attitudes. The use of languages other than English *for* instruction became popular. At the same time, interest in the teaching *of* foreign languages declined considerably.

Multilingualism in a Xenophobic America: 1980 to the Present

Close to seven million immigrants (both legal and undocumented) had entered the United States during the 1970s. Eight million more would arrive between 1980 and 1990. More importantly, the percentage of legal immigrants from Northern and Western Europe dropped sharply from 49% in the 1940s; 39% in the 1950s; 18% in the 1960s; and 6% in the 1970s. During this same time period, Asian immigrants increased from 3% to 47%. and Hispanics from 20% to 47% (Kellogg 1988:201). Even more Hispanics were arriving as undocumented aliens. The American public was particularly aware of the presence of Hispanics in the major cities and the fact that there were areas in those cities where one needed to speak Spanish (rather than English) in order to get around.

Illegal immigration and increasing ethnic diversity put pressure on the government for immigration reform. The Mariel Boat People -- refugees from Cuba -- were of such questionable character that refugee policy was updated for the first time since World War II. The Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Bill was first introduced in Congress in 1982. It was introduced again in 1983 and in 1984 it passed, but died in conference committee.

Finally, in 1986 the Immigration and Control Reform Act (IRCA) was passed. The main goal of IRCA was to enact employer sanctions to reduce illegal immigration. At the same time it instituted a legalization program to reduce the number of illegal immigrants who had been in the country for a significant length of time. Finally, assurances were made that agricultural labor supplies would not be harmed by the law. The establishment of employer sanctions has serious implications for linguistic minority persons in the United States in that they have the potential for increasing discrimination against anyone who looks or sounds foreign, regardless of their immigration status (Bean et al 1989:25-26). The Immigration Act of 1990 revised the numerical limits and preference system which regulate permanent legal immigration. Under the new law, 71% of the immigrants will be family-sponsored, 20% will be admitted on the basis of employment, and 8% will be "diversity" immigrants (Congressional Research Service 1990:2). The Permanent Diversity Program which begins in FY '1995, permits 55,000 visas to be issued each year to persons from foreign states which had immigration levels lower than 50,000 over the preceding five years. Each foreign state is restricted to seven percent of the total. One of the three Transition Diversity Programs, which will be in effect from FY '1992 through FY '1994, "provides 40,000 visas a year ... for certain natives of foreign states adversely affected by the 1965 act repealing the national origins quota system, with at least 40 percent of the visas effectively earmarked for Ireland" (Congressional Research Service 1990:5).

During this era, concern arose within American society about the sanctity of the English language and reaction in the public and educational arenas was swift. Public educational institutions were being criticized for failing to educate students. The educational reform movement encouraged going "back to the basics." Budgets began to be reduced toward the end of the period due to decreases in public and government funding. Civil rights laws were infrequently enforced. During the Reagan years (1981-86) Lyons notes that school districts were nine times less likely to be scheduled for a Title VI *Lau* review than in the period 1976-81 (Lyons 1990:74).

Bilingual education's popularity declined. In 1980, in compliance with a consent decree brought about by a challenge from the state of Alaska regarding the enforceability of the *Lau Guidelines*, the United States Department of Education issued a Notice of Proposed Rule Making designed to establish government regulations for the provision of services to limited English proficient students. The proposed regulations contained specific programmatic guidelines for assessing, instructing and promoting these students. "The Education Department received over four thousand public comments on the NPRM, most of which objected to one or more of the NPRM's provisions." (Lyons 1989:115). Finalization of the rules was suspended and the NPRM was withdrawn shortly after Ronald Reagan took office in 1981.

Fiscal year 1981 marked the peak of Title VII appropriations, with $157 million. FY '82 and '83 appropriations were $134 million and FY '84 saw a minimal increase to

$135.5 million. The 1984 reauthorization of Title VII forever changed the scope of the program, for it authorized the use of Bilingual Education Act funds for "Special Alternative Instructional Programs" which did not need to use the child's native language for instructional purposes. Four percent of the funds available at the time and 50% of any additional appropriations were to be available for English as a second language and English-immersion programs. The law also provided for the funding of "developmental bilingual education programs;" programs where half the target population was English-dominant and where the two groups of students would learn both English and the other language, with the goal of bilingualism. "Not since key provisions of the original 1967 American Bilingual Education bill were dropped in conference committee had federal policy countenanced native-language development as an objective of BEA programs" (Lyons 1990:76). It should be noted, however, that only three developmental bilingual education programs were funded in the next fiscal year.

The decline in federal support for bilingual education continued under the tenure of William Bennett as Secretary of Education. In 1985, Bennett announced his "Bilingual Initiative," stating that "after seventeen years of federal involvement, and after $1.7 billion of federal funding, we have no evidence that the children whom we sought to help--that the children who deserve our help--have benefitted." Conveniently forgetting that fewer than 10% of the limited English proficient students in the nation were being served by Federal bilingual education programs, he cited the high drop-out rates of

Hispanic children as proof of the "failure of bilingual education" (Bennett 1985).

In each of the following years, the Administration attempted unsuccessfully to have the 4% cap on funding of Special Alternative Instructional Programs removed. In the 1988 reauthorization of Title VII, however, a compromise resulted in reserving up to 25% of the appropriations for instructional programs for the "Special Alternative Instructional Programs." No new developmental bilingual education programs were funded in FY '89.

Lauro Cavazos replaced William Bennett as Secretary of Education in 1988. Although he professed support for bilingual education, funding for Title VII remained at the same levels as in previous years. Cavazos, a Hispanic, outraged not only bilingual education supporters, but many other educators, when shortly before leaving office he remarked during a speech "If a child cannot speak English the first day of school, that child is not ready to learn" (Cavazos 1990).

Appropriations for FY '91 have not yet been finalized. The House of Representatives has proposed a dramatic increase in funding of $50 million; the Senate proposed level funding. Although the conference committee has yet to make a final recommendation, it is likely that there will be a $25 million increase in funding.

As the 1993 reauthorization of the Bilingual Education Act approaches, we find that states have followed the lead of the federal government. In the mid 1980s the governor of California declined to sign the legislation reauthorizing California's state

bilingual education law. Similar laws and mandates in states such as Colorado have been weakened or eliminated. Currently there are attempts being made to end the legislative mandate for bilingual education in Massachusetts, one of the first states in the nation to have passed such a law.

During this time period, opposition to the use of languages other than English *for* instruction has dramatically increased. When he was a United States Senator from California, Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa had begun "to worry that the work of Hispanic social, cultural, and political organizations might be creating a climate favorable to a bilingual United States society (Carlson 1987:112). Before his retirement, he proposed a Constitutional Amendment to make English the official language of the United States.

In 1983, Hayakawa formed an organization called U.S. ENGLISH. It targeted bilingual ballots, bilingual education, and bilingual services by governmental and social agencies. It also wanted to prevent Puerto Rico from becoming a state which had a language other than English as its official language (Carlson 1987:112). U.S. ENGLISH's Chairperson was John Tanton, who had founded the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR). FAIR, a lobby group, wanted to restrict immigration, particularly that of Hispanics. Tanton's views were revealed to the public when an internal memo he wrote was released. In it he discussed threats posed by Spanish-speaking immigrants:

> ... the tradition of the da (bribe); the lack of involvement in public affairs; Roman Catholicism, with its potential to "pitch out the separation of

> church and state'; low "educability" and high school-dropout rates; failure to use birth control; limited concern for the environment; and of course, language divisions (Crawford 1989:57).

By June of 1986, U.S. ENGLISH had 180,000 members. Today it boasts more than 400,000 members. U.S. ENGLISH's membership is primarily monolingual (61%), native-born (92%) of native-born parents (80%), and college graduates (61%) (Lawrence 1988:1-3). Its budget exceeded $4 million in 1987 (Crawford 1989:66). Its leadership over the years has included noticeably ethnic persons such as Gerda Bikales, Linda Chávez, and Arnold Schwarzenegger, who have embraced the concept of Americanization. Their latest tactic has been to hire persons formerly associated with the field of bilingual education. Their current Executive Director, Ronald Saunders, is a former bilingual education teacher who was, at one time, the director of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education. U.S. ENGLISH has just published a book entitled *Democracy or Babel? The Case for Official English*, in which immigrants relate their stories of becoming "American" by learning English.

U.S. ENGLISH has tried unsuccessfully to amend the United States Constitution to make English the official language. A proposed English-language amendment was first introduced in the 97th Congress in 1981. It has been introduced in the beginning of each subsequent two-year congressional session. Hearings on the proposed amendment were held in May 1988 in the U.S. House of Representatives (Hornberger 1990:15).

U.S. ENGLISH has, however, had considerable success at the state level. Since its formation, fourteen states, including states with significant Spanish-speaking populations like California, Florida, Colorado, Arizona (later rescinded), have approved English as the official language of the state either by resolution, statute, or constitutional amendment (Hornberger 1990:15). It should be noted that three states have enacted policies to encourage multilingualism. New Mexico, Hawaii, and Louisiana have state laws which promote languages other than English (Phillips 1990:62).

U.S. ENGLISH's approach is quite simple. Using all the myths associated with the role of English in the United States, they appeal to mainstream Americans to defend English in order to preserve the Union. The main argument used by U.S. ENGLISH is that "English, as a common language, is necessary for unity, political stability and full participation in American society" (Edwards 1989:13). They invoke the image of Canada as a nation divided over language. "How can we remain united as a people--and as a nation--if we have no way of talking to one another?" (U.S. ENGLISH 1991:3). They claim that Hispanic and other immigrants are rejecting the "Melting Pot" because they have the right to bilingual ballots. They insist that bilingual education programs prevent children from learning English. They claim to have no objection to the use of languages other than English in the private context: "U.S. ENGLISH endorses bilingualism for individuals--but not for government" (U.S. ENGLISH 1991:7).

Fishman (1988:128) believes the underlying, unstated goal of the movement is to

move from "English Official" to "English Only," "that is, from English-only in government to English-only in society." He asks:

> Why should a concern for its [English] functional protection arouse so much interest in the wealthiest, most prestigious, and most powerful core-English-mother-tongue country of the world, a country in which fully 85% of the population is of English mother tongue and where anywhere between 94% and 96% of the population is English speaking?" (Fishman 1988:129)

In 1987, the English Plus Information Clearinghouse (EPIC) was established as by a coalition of more than forty-five language and civil rights organizations. EPIC's mission is to promote the concept that "all members of our society have full access to effective opportunities to acquire strong English language proficiency *plus* mastery of a second or multiple languages" (EPIC 1988:2). Also in 1987, a Cultural-Rights amendment was introduced in Congress. The amendment would have "recognized the right of the people to preserve, foster, and promote their respective historic linguistic and cultural origins" (Hornberger 1990:16).

During this same period of time, foreign languages have gained in popularity. The President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies pronounced in 1979: "Americans' incompetence in foreign languages is nothing short of scandalous, and it is becoming worse" (President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies, 1979:5). The Commission's report, issued after a year of studying the status of foreign language studies in the United States, found "a serious deterioration in this country's language and research capacity" (President's Commission on Foreign

Languages and International Studies, 1979:1). The report noted that foreign language instruction in the elementary schools had virtually disappeared and in high schools it had declined to 15%. The Commission reported that only eight percent of American colleges and universities required a foreign language for admission, compared with 34% in 1968 (President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies: 1979:7). The Presidential Commission recommended numerous strategies for expanding opportunities for American children to learn foreign languages, beginning instruction earlier and continuing it throughout the educational process. Four years after the publication of this report, 70 colleges had reinstated foreign language requirement, reversing the downward trend for the first time since 1915 (National Advisory Board on International Education Programs 1983:6). On the elementary school level, there has been renewed interested in teaching foreign languages. In 1987, the state of North Carolina mandated FLES programs for all students by 1993 (Grittner 1990:12). New York state has implemented a policy which requires two years of foreign language study by all students in grades K-9 (Phillips 1990:64). Foreign language immersion programs for native-speakers of English have also become very popular. Results of a 1987 survey conducted by the Center for Language Education and Research show that 22% of the responding elementary schools, 72% of the junior high schools, and 95% of the senior high schools offered foreign language classes (Phillips 1990:62).

Educational reform movements of the 1980s all supported increased study of

foreign languages. *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, issued in 1983, recommended that college-bound students take two years of foreign language in high school. The National Commission on Excellence in Education went on to note that because it takes from four to six years to achieve proficiency in a foreign language, such study should be started in the elementary grades (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983:24-26). Also in 1983, the National Advisory Board on International Education Programs recommended to the Secretary of Education that the opportunity to learn a foreign language be provided in the earliest years of formal education and continuing instruction until proficiency has been achieved (National Advisory Board on International Education Programs 1983:9).

The Joint National Committee on Languages (JNCL), organized in 1976 under the leadership of Dr. James E. Alatis, opened its Washington, DC office in 1981. It has promoted public awareness of the need to increase America's foreign language capabilities (Ramírez 1985:207). As an umbrella organization for forty-four national language associations, JNCL has worked to increase federal support for foreign language programs. During the 1980s, private foundations and corporations also devoted resources to examining foreign language instruction in the United States. A National Foreign Language Center was established at Johns Hopkins University with funding from four major foundations to study foreign language policy (Phillips 1990:69). In 1988, the Johnson Wax Foundation sponsored a meeting of foreign language experts at the

Wingspread Conference Center in Wisconsin to identify the characteristics of successful elementary school foreign language programs (Grittner 1990:13).

In recent years, numerous bills have been introduced in Congress to promote the study of foreign languages. The National Security Through Foreign Language Assistance Act, the National Bureau of Language Services Act, the Foreign Language Assistance Act, the International Education for a Competitive America Act, and the Global Foreign Language Competence for the Future Act are among those legislative initiatives designed to encourage bilingualism for native English-speakers (Panetta 1991:15).

As an example, in 1984, the Education for Economic Security Act was passed by Congress. Title II of the act included foreign language instruction and over the next three years, $8-$9 million was provided for teacher training in all foreign languages over the next three years (Joint National Committee for Languages 1991:1). When the law was reauthorized in 1987, foreign language instruction assistance and teaching awards were again included in Title VII, although funding for the model foreign language programs was not provided for two years. In FY '90, noting the need for "language studies in the elementary grades with a focus primarily on programs in the less commonly taught languages...", $4.88 million was appropriated.

The government also funds National Resource Centers and Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships. Over the past five years, more than $12.2 million has been awarded for centers and $7.5 million has been devoted to funding fellowships (Phillips

1990:58).

As we enter the 1990s, foreign language study is still receiving significant public support. In recent years, Congress has increased funding for programs which support "foreign fellowships, research, study abroad, language and area studies centers, and centers abroad for intensive study of critical languages and cultures" (Panetta 1991:15). The Foreign Language Assistance Act funds model foreign language programs in elementary and secondary schools. The proposed Global Education Opportunities Act would provide monies to support inservice training for foreign language teachers, materials development, and study abroad programs. The proposed National Security Education Act of 1991 would establish a National Security Education Trust Fund to help develop "greater skills in the areas of international and regional studies and foreign language fluency." Initial authorization for the program would provide $15 million for study abroad programs; $10 million for fellowships and grants; and $145 million for the Trust Fund to provide long-range support for the program (National Council for Languages and International Studies 1991:1).

On the elementary and secondary school level, the governors of the nation have promoted increased study of foreign languages. One of the six national education goals established by the governors at the 1989 Education Summit was student achievement and citizenship. One of the five objectives for this goal is "the percentage of students who are competent in more than one language will substantially increase" (National Education

Goals Panel 1991:44). In its 1991 report, the National Education Goals Panel reported that the percentage of high school graduates who had completed foreign languages courses increased from 49% in 1982 to 65% in 1987 (National Education Goals Panel 1991:52).

William Bennett, who made every effort during his tenure as Secretary of Education to promote monolingualism in English for speakers of languages other than English, also issued a report entitled *James Madison Elementary School* where he outlined ideal learning objectives for American schools:

> Early study of foreign languages makes sense. The imitative capacities of young children give them natural advantages as language students. And language study is good for them. It allows children a taste of the size and diversity of human experience and helps them to distinguish similarities and differences between their own and other cultures and peoples. It may even have a positive effect on their command of English" (Lyons 1990:78).

Multilingualism in America from 1980 to the present has reflected the xenophobia caused by massive immigration of two groups in particular -- Hispanics and Asians. "There is no doubt that this era will ultimately be looked back upon as another cycle of bigotry disguised as a debate about language" (Daniels 1990:ix). Attitudes toward bilingualism have completely reversed from the previous period. Bilingual education has been under constant attack. The English-Only Movement has gained significant momentum. Foreign language instruction has been consistently recommended as part of the educational reform movement.

Summary

This history of multilingualism in America has documented the implementation of social, legal, educational, and immigration policies aimed at encouraging bilingualism for different groups at different times during the development of the nation. It provides the social history background for the next chapter to use as it examines the attitudes held by mainstream Americans toward bilingualism.

# CHAPTER 5

# ATTITUDES TOWARD BILINGUALISM IN AMERICA

## Introduction

This chapter will examine the attitudes of mainstream Americans toward bilingualism, based on the historical evidence presented in the previous chapter. As these attitudes change throughout history, an attempt will be made to determine whether mainstream American's do, in fact, hold a bilingual double standard and, further, whether García's (1985:157) claim that "as public attitudes against natural bilingualism increase, interest in learned bilingualism increases" is true.

## Historical Evidence

In Colonial America (1607-1783), multilingualism was widespread. Public attitudes were considerably more supportive of teaching *in* languages other than English than they were supportive of the teaching *of* languages other than English. More importantly, this period represents the only time in America's history that the goal of native language (or bilingual education) programs was *bilingualism* for non-native speakers of English. Mainstream Americans had no objection to the maintenance of native languages along with the acquisition of English. The teaching *of* languages other

than English (foreign language instruction) was not generally supported. Classical languages were only studied by the very small elite class. Modern foreign languages, while recognized as useful as tools for commerce, were not considered essential.

In the new nation (1783-1830) there was a significant shift in attitudes toward bilingualism with the establishment of an "American" society to which immigrants had to assimilate. In fact, the word "immigrant" came into use at this time. Prior to the Revolution writers had referred only to "emigrants."

> But by 1789 our language was beginning to identify newcomers with the country they entered rather than the one they had left. Thus the term immigrant presupposed the existence of a receiving society to which the alien could attach himself. The immigrant is not, then, a colonist or settler who creates a new society and lays down the terms of admission for others. He is rather the bearer of a foreign culture (Higham 1984:6).

Although multilingualism continued to be widespread, the pre-eminence of English, along with its association with the concept of "Americanism", was firmly established. In the *Federalist* papers, John Jay defined Americans as "one united people -- a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs" (Jordan 1968:336-40 cited in Higham 1984:3). Public attitudes toward bilingual education continued to be supportive, as evidenced by the increasing number of programs. Public attitudes toward foreign language instruction, particularly classical languages, were marginally supportive, while the attitude toward modern foreign languages continued to be that they were frills.

As America expanded its boundaries (1830-1890), public support for bilingual education, with the goal of bilingualism, declined. Localization of power allowed communities who so desired to establish bilingual education programs. Although increasing numbers of these programs were established and laws were enacted permitting the use of languages other than English for instruction, the nature of these programs clearly changed. The concept of transitional bilingual education, with the goal of monolingualism in English for non-native speakers of English, was firmly established during this period. Nativist groups began to express opposition to immigrants for they did not fit in with the anti-Catholic, anti-radical, and Anglo-Saxon traditions which mainstream Americans sought to protect (Higham 1988:11). Public support for foreign language instruction began to increase. Classical languages still were considered part of a good education, but mainly for the elite. Modern foreign languages gained in popularity. In 1870, the United States Commissioner of Education stated: "The German language has actually become the second language of our Republic, and a knowledge of German is now considered essential to a finished education" (Heath 1977:39).

As America rapidly became increasingly diverse as a result of massive immigration (1890-1923), nativist sentiments reached a peak. "The homogeneity and mobility that had long upheld the American faith in assimilation was threatened (Higham 1984:37). At the same time the United States changed from an agricultural to an industrial society. Public education through high school became widespread. The

imposition of English as the language of instruction reflected public opinion that all Americans should speak English. Public support for educational programs which taught *in* foreign languages declined rapidly as language became closely associated with being "American." The goals of bilingual schools were questioned. "Some suspicion has been aroused in the case of bilingual schools regarding the character of civic training and the use of the English language; the evidence has shown that in some of these schools instruction in the English language has been neglected" (Thompson 1971:134). "In the case of purely foreign-language schools there would seem to be no doubt that the predominant motive is nationalistic or racial. Public opinion as the result of the war has practically driven the foreign-language school out of the country" (Thompson 1971:151). Immigrants were expected to exchange their native languages for English. "There is a moral and easily recognized obligation on the part of those who seek another land as a haven or as a place of opportunity: this obligation implies that those seeking admittance should make reasonable effort to conform to the customs and become acquainted with the language of the nation receiving them" (Thompson 1971:11). Foreign language instruction suffered from lack of public support only briefly during World War I and these negative attitudes were really only directed at the German language. There was also a significant change in public opinion regarding the value of classical as opposed to modern foreign languages. The decline in support for the study of classical languages was permanent.

America went through many changes between 1923 and 1953. It became "intellectually fashionable to discount the very existence of persistent ethnic differences" (Benedict 1934 cited in Higham 1984:59). Massive immigration ended. Ethnic integration was facilitated by the expansion of unionism, the flight to the suburbs, and mass education (Higham 1984:59). Public attitudes between 1923 and 1953 were considerably more supportive of foreign language education than of native language education. The enrollments reached a low point and then began to rise, while bilingual education was virtually non-existent. It is interesting to note that the same laws which prohibited bilingual education in the United States forbade the study of foreign languages until the difference between bilingual education and foreign language study became clear when the Supreme Court ruled in *Meyer v. Nebraska.* The nature of the American bilingual double standard was clarified during this period as a clear distinction was drawn between teaching *in* languages other than English and the teaching *of* languages other than English, reflecting society's continued support for foreign language instruction.

1953-1968 marked a period of public support for foreign languages, particularly as a result of the launching of Sputnik. Federal government policies encouraged the study of foreign languages and enrollments increased. Public support was not there for bilingual education, although the groundwork was being laid. Ofelia García (1985:155) notes that the type of bilingualism that was promoted beginning in 1958 was "seen as the use of English plus a 'foreign' language, and was indeed a change from the favorable

public attitude toward bilingualism in the 19th century when bilingualism consisted of English plus an 'ethnic mother tongue'."

From 1968-1980, bilingual education enjoyed tremendous public support. Federal, state and local governments instituted programs using non-English languages for instruction, recognizing transitional bilingual education as a viable educational approach. During the same time, public support for foreign language instruction declined sharply.

Since 1980, public attitudes toward bilingualism have again reversed themselves. Foreign languages have been promoted by the government and bilingual education has been considered "un-American." The success of organizations such as U.S. ENGLISH in their efforts to make English the official language of the United States and to restrict the use of languages other than English is yet to be determined.

History suggests the existence of a bilingual double standard. Attitudes toward bilingual education and foreign language instruction have been distinctly different throughout the development of the United States.

Public Opinion Polls

While the attitudes of mainstream Americans in the past can only be inferred from content analysis, current attitudes can be more closely examined through the use of direct measures such as public opinion polls. Since 1980, there have been seven major public opinion polls conducted which were designed to collect information regarding mainstream

Americans' attitudes toward bilingualism. Six of these polls focus on bilingual education, the other on foreign language instruction. Each of these polls provides some insight into the attitudes of the general public.

1980 Gallup Poll

The 1980 Gallup Poll of attitudes toward the public schools was based on a national random sample of 1,547 adults (18 years of age and older). Of the twenty-three questions asked in the personal, in-home interviews, one question dealt with bilingual education. After providing a brief description of three alternative approaches to educating children who do not speak English (instruction in the native language exclusively, transitional bilingual education, and learning English in special schools), the respondents were asked whether or not they thought non-English speaking students "should be required to learn English in special classes before they are enrolled in the public schools." Eighty-two percent of the respondents answered "yes;" 13% said "no;" and 5% "didn't know" (Gallup 1980:44).

Although the poll contained no question specifically on foreign language instruction, a question regarding learning about other nations provides an indication of the difference in attitudes. In response to the question whether students should spend more time studying about other people and the way they live, 45% of the respondents indicated agreement with the statement; 46% thought enough time was spent on them;

and 9% didn't know (Gallup 1980:45).

1980 Columbia University Poll

Also in 1980, Stephan Cole, of the Center for the Social Sciences at Columbia University, conducted a study to determine the attitudes that Hispanics and mainstream Americans hold toward bilingual education. There were 721 respondents who were interviewed by telephone for the national random sample of mainstream Americans. A total of forty questions were asked in order to collect both demographic and attitudinal data. Among the results, Cole (1980:45) found:

> When asked how non-English-speaking children should be taught:
>
> 33% supported English-only instruction
> 42% supported transitional bilingual education
> 21% supported maintenance bilingual education
> 1% supported total native language instruction
> 3% had no opinion
>
> When asked how non-native English-speaking children who are proficient in English should be taught:
>
> 53% supported English-only instruction
> 41% supported bilingual education
> 2% supported total native language instruction
> 4% had no opinion
>
> When asked how they felt in general about bilingual education programs in which Spanish-speaking children are taught in both Spanish and English:
>
> 15% strongly supported them
> 49% supported them
> 18% opposed them

10% strongly opposed them
8% had no opinion

The study concluded that only the demographic characteristic of age correlated with attitudes. Younger people were significantly more likely to support bilingual education than were older persons. Other variables, however, did have significant correlations. Those respondents who favored assimilation, had relatively negative attitudes toward Hispanics, and held relatively conservative general political attitudes were the least likely to support bilingual education.

1984 Symbolic Attitudes Study

The 1984 "Symbolic Attitudes Study," conducted by Cardoza, Huddy, and Sears, was another public opinion poll which was designed to measure the degree of support for bilingual education and to identify some of the underlying reasons for the attitudes held by the respondents. The national sample contained 1,570 respondents.

At first glance, it appears that there was considerable support for bilingual education among the respondents. As Table 13 shows, two-thirds were in favor of bilingual education and more than three-quarters felt too little was being spent on the programs.

TABLE 13

SUPPORT FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION AMONG ANGLOS

| | % With Opinions | % Favorable to Bilingual Education |
|---|---|---|
| Overall Evaluation | | |
| How do you feel about bilingual education? (in favor) | 90 | 67 |
| Do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount spent on bilingual education? (too little) | 78 | 82 |
| Specific Effects | | |
| Bilingual education is very unsuccessful in teaching non-English-speaking students to speak English. (disagree) | 78 | 60 |
| Bilingual education would give non-English-speaking students a fair chance at receiving a quality education. (agree) | 92 | 79 |
| Bilingual education will greatly increase the chances of non-English-speaking students finding work once they leave school. (agree) | 91 | 74 |
| Bilingual education is very successful in helping students fit into the American way of life. (agree) | 92 | 76 |
| Bilingual education means that there would be less resources available for the education of English-speaking students. (disagree) | 87 | 57 |

Source: Leonie Huddy and David O. Sears, "Qualified Public Support for Bilingual Education: Some Policy Implications." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 508 (March 1990), page 124.

Although the respondents indicated being favorably disposed toward bilingual education, further examination of the data revealed that the degree of support depended upon the respondent's understanding of what bilingual education is. As Table 14 shows, those who thought that bilingual education was teaching foreign students in their own language had consistently less favorable attitudes than those who thought it was either teaching English to foreign students, general foreign language instruction, or a reference to bilingualism in general (Huddy et al 1984:7). "Overall, well-informed respondents were significantly less favorable than the poorly informed (1.90 versus 2.74, $p < .05$)" (Huddy and Sears 1990:125). However, regardless of their definition of bilingual education, an overwhelming majority of the respondents associated bilingual education with the Spanish language. "Associating bilingual education with Spanish, as most did, also resulted in lower levels of support ($t$[1391] = 3.23, $p < .01$)" (Huddy and Sears 1990:126).

TABLE 14

DEFINITION OF AND SUPPORT FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

| | DEFINITION % OF NAT'L. SAMPLE (n = 1,170) | DEFINITION % OF OVER-SAMPLE (n = 400) | MEAN SUPPORT* TOTAL SAMPLE (n = 1,570) |
|---|---|---|---|
| SPONTANEOUS MEANING | | | |
| Substantially Accurate | | | |
| Teaching foreign students in their own language | 6% | 10% | -0.74[a] |
| Teaching in two languages | 16% | 26% | 2.27[b] |
| Teaching English to foreign students | 9% | 15% | 1.75[b] |
| Subtotal | 31% | 41% | |
| Substantially Inaccurate | | | |
| Bilingualism | 18% | 17% | 3.89[c] |
| Foreign language instruction | 21% | 21% | 2.23[b] |
| Subtotal | 39% | 38% | |
| No Description | 29% | 10% | 2.79[bc] |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 2.29 |
| Language | | | |
| Spanish | 81% | 91% | 2.05[a] |
| Other | 19% | 9% | 3.18[b] |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 2.29 |

*Support is the mean evaluation on a scale ranging from +10.25 to -10.25, with the neutral point at zero. Entries that do not have a common superscript are significantly different ($p < .05$). Based on separate analyses for meaning and language.

Source: Leonie Huddy and David O. Sears, "Qualified Public Support for Bilingual Education: Some Policy Implications." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 508 (March 1990), page 125.

Even when respondents were provided with definitions of alternative approaches to teaching non-English-speaking children, they were less likely to support programs involving the native language. "The cultural-maintenance plan was liked significantly less than the other two (1.71, 3.43, and 3.51 for maintenance, transitional, and ESL, respectively; $F[1551] = 19.23$, $p < .01$), although the mean response even to it was slightly favorable" (Huddy and Sears 1990:132).

The study also found that certain personal experiences had minor relationships to attitudes. Those respondents who lived in Hispanic neighborhoods (31 percent of the population or more being Hispanic) were less supportive of bilingual education. Those who spoke more than one language themselves and those who were parents of school-age children were more supportive. Those who had direct experience with bilingual education or had children in bilingual programs supported them significantly more than did those without direct experience. "These findings suggest that even if bilingual education programs were to proliferate and directly affect an increasing number of Anglos, this set of circumstances would not necessarily undermine public support for them. Few people seem to derive their attitudes about bilingual education from personal experience with it" (Huddy and Sears 1990:127).

However, racial and political symbolic attitudes are significantly related to attitudes about bilingual education. Positive feelings toward Hispanics and aid to minorities, belief in pluralism, and liberal political party affiliation, along with favorable

attitudes toward school spending, foreign language instruction, bilingualism, and government social services, all related to support for bilingual education (Huddy et al 1984:8). "Symbolic racism is the strongest predictor ($r = .37, p < .001$), and both anti-Hispanic affect and nationalism also have significant but weaker effects ... Bilingual education, then, evokes generalized antagonism directed toward minority-group demands; some hostility toward Hispanics, the group that benefits most directly from it; and nationalism and anti-immigrant feeling" (Huddy and Sears 1990:128).

Attitudes Toward Bilingual Education Scale

In an attempt to identify the underlying beliefs of proponents and opponents of bilingual education, Krus and Stanley developed the "Attitudes Toward Bilingual Education (ABE) Scale". They believe this instrument has the potential to provide "valid discrimination between an a priori defined group of proponents of bilingual education and a group of adult individuals randomly selected from the general population" (Krus and Stanley 1985:694). The scale consists of 23 statements (only two of which did not prove to discriminate between the two groups at least at the .05 level) to which the respondents are to indicate their acceptance or rejection. Statements include such items as:

1. The fundamental error in the conduct of the United States is the blind worship of a single language, erroneously regarded as the only possible foundation for its continued existence.
2. Pay for bilingual education with taxpayers' money is wrong.
3. Attempts to create a bilingual society will promote future discord and separatist tendencies. (Krus and Stanley 1985:696)

The results of the administration of the questionnaire to a group of 50 bilingual education supporters and 42 members of the general public suggest "that the opinions and values of the bilingual education proponents are at gross variance with the opinions and beliefs of the general public" (Krus and Stanley 1985:696). For example the first question above was accepted by 82% of the bilingual education supporters, but only 25% of the general public. Question number 2 was rejected by 100% of the bilingual education supporters and supported by 66% of the general public. Question 3 was accepted by only 2% of the bilingual education supporters while 54% of the general public agreed (Krus and Stanley 1985:695).

1986 Lambert and Taylor Study

In 1986, Wallace Lambert and Donald Taylor from McGill University conducted a study designed to determine 1) attitudes toward the maintenance of heritage cultures versus assimilation, 2) attitudes toward bilingualism, and 3) attitudes toward other ethnic groups. The respondents were representatives of Polish Americans, Arab Americans, Albanian Americans and Black Americans in Hamtramck, Michigan and representatives of Mexican Americans, Puerto Rican Americans, Black Americans, Working-Class Whites and Middle-Class Whites in Pontiac, Michigan. Only the attitudes of Working and Middle Class Whites will be discussed here. It should also be noted that the working class whites were families from the South who have been in the motor industries for

generations and who keep close ties with relatives in the southern states.

The results of Lambert and Taylor's study show extreme differences of opinion between the middle class and working class whites toward maintenance of cultures, bilingualism and ethnic groups. Middle class whites showed favorable attitudes toward each of the ethnic groups in the community in the positive personal attributes they assigned each group, and in their expressed willingness to interact with other groups at all levels of social distance. The also supported the idea of keeping heritage cultures and languages alive in the home and community, but drew the line at having public schools give instruction via languages other than English. For their own children, bilingualism developed through schooling was prized for its social, intellectual and career-related consequences.

Working class whites displayed "a quite different, essentially hostile attitude not only toward multiculturalism, but also toward ethnic newcomers and minorities" (Lambert and Taylor 1986:12). The group took a neutral stand on the debate about multiculturalism versus cultural assimilation. However, their attitudes toward all other ethnic groups in the community were negative and stereotyped to the point of being disdainful. They questioned why ethnic newcomers should want to keep heritage cultures and languages alive and took a strong stand against culture and language training, other than "American," in the public schools. They did, however, see substantial advantages for their own children's becoming bilingual.

1991 Gallup Survey

In January of 1991, the Gallup Organization conducted a survey on behalf of U.S. ENGLISH to determine public attitudes toward making English the official language of government. The survey also contained two questions regarding bilingual education in public schools. A total of 995 registered voters who indicated they were likely to vote in the Fall 1991 election were interviewed by telephone. The participants were asked the following question:

> Bilingual education programs teach children who do not speak English basic subjects such as math or science in their native language, while also teaching them to speak English. Some people feel these bilingual programs should only be used until the child learns English. Others feel bilingual education should continue to be used in order to maintain the native language of these children. Which opinion comes closer to your view? (Gallup Organization 1991:6).

Slightly more than half of the respondents (54%) believed bilingual education should only be used until the child learns English. More than a third (37%) believe bilingual education programs should continue to be used once a child has learned English.

With regard to the responsibility of the public schools, participants were asked the following question:

> Some people say that our public schools should be responsible for maintaining the languages and cultures that people bring with them to the United States. Others say that this is a private concern and not the responsibility of the public schools. Which comes closer to your view? (Gallup Organization 1991:7).

Almost three out of four respondents (71% to 23%) felt that maintenance of other languages and cultures should be a private concern. Republicans (78%) and political moderates (77%) were more likely than Democrats (63%) and political liberals (59%) to support language maintenance as a private concern (Gallup Organization 1991:7).

1979 Foreign Language Survey

The only major survey found in the literature which focused on foreign language instruction was conducted in 1979 for the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. In this study, the University of Michigan Research Center conducted a telephone poll of a nationally representative sample of 962 respondents to determine their attitudes with regard to studying foreign languages. Among the results (Eddy 1980:54) were:

1. 75.6% of those who had studied a foreign language felt it was worthwhile.
2. 76.4% thought foreign languages should be offered in the elementary schools.
3. 91.9% thought foreign languages should be offered in the junior high schools.
4. 38.4% thought there should be a foreign language requirement for admission to college and 39.9% thought it should be a requirement for graduation from college.
5. 84.1% said they would encourage their children to study a foreign language.

Summary

What do the results of these public opinion polls suggest? With regard to demographic characteristics, the polls document the fact that age is a determining factor

in a person's attitude toward bilingualism for non-native speakers of English. The younger generation is more likely to support bilingual education than is the older generation.

Evidence regarding the correlation between attitudes and income and education is contradictory. Both the Cole and Huddy et al studies found that there was more support for bilingual education among those with lower levels of income and education. Lambert and Taylor, on the other hand, found a significant difference in the level of support between middle class and working class whites, with those with less education and income less likely to support bilingual education. Given the fact that non-English speakers are more likely to compete with the working class for jobs and other social benefits, Lambert and Taylor's findings may be more accurate.

All the polls show a strong relationship between attitudes toward bilingualism for non-native speakers of English and attitudes toward American society. Political affiliation is one example. Those with more liberal political ideologies are more likely to be supportive than are those with conservative leanings. This also means that those who support the concepts of aid to minorities, government support of education, and social welfare programs also tend to support bilingual education. It is no surprise that those who believe in assimilation display significantly lower levels of support for programs they see as aimed at maintaining cultural and linguistic diversity.

The polls also show that bilingual education is not understood by many people.

Confusion over what the methodology actually involves and what the goals are is evident. What is even more evident is that despite the level of understanding, the issue evokes strong opinions.

The public opinion surveys document almost universal support for bilingualism for native speakers of English. No matter what their feelings toward bilingualism for non-native speakers of English, almost all mainstream Americans want their children to study a foreign language.

Social history provides evidence of differing attitudes toward bilingualism for native speakers of English and non-native speakers of English. It also supports García's claim that when the general public is supportive of bilingual education, it is less supportive of foreign language instruction and vice versa. Both historical evidence and public opinion polls, consequently, provide significant evidence for the existence of a "bilingual double standard" among mainstream Americans.

# CHAPTER 6

# MAINSTREAM AMERICANS' LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

## Introduction

This chapter will describe the underlying language ideology of mainstream Americans with regard to bilingualism. The analysis is drawn from three areas: the myths about language in America, the history of language policy in America, and the results of public opinion polls. By examining mainstream Americans' underlying language ideology, the basis for the bilingual double standard can be better understood, thus contributing to the work of language planners.

Heath (1977:70) pleads for "more attention to ideology in language policy." She notes that "within bilingual education in the United States, the absence of knowledge about the language ideology behind the two approaches [cultivation and policy] and among the groups involved has often led to lack of definition in policy determination and weakness of direction in development and implementation" (Heath 1977:54). She proposes that language planners need to know more about the national population including what values speakers bring to language; how these values relate to estimations of the worth of individual languages; and how these estimations determine reactions to bilingual education (Heath 1977:55). Her concerns about the relevance of ideology to bilingual education policy are equally valid for foreign language education.

Framework

Within Rokeach's (1968) framework, a belief is "any simple proposition, conscious or unconscious, inferred from what a person says or does, capable of being preceded by the phrase 'I believe that ...'" (Rokeach 1968:113). Beliefs have cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. There are three types of beliefs: descriptive or existential beliefs, evaluative beliefs, and prescriptive or exhoratory beliefs. Descriptive or existential beliefs reflect a person's understanding of the world in terms of things being true/false or correct/incorrect. Evaluative beliefs look at things in terms of their being good or bad. Prescriptive or exhoratory beliefs advocate, as desirable or undesirable, certain courses of action or certain states of existence. According to Rokeach, all beliefs are predispositions to act.

An attitude is "an organization of interrelated beliefs around a common object" (Rokeach 1968:116). An attitude is, therefore, composed of a set of beliefs related to a particular object or situation. "Attitudes are assumed to be 'agendas for action' or to have a behavioral component because all the beliefs comprising them, regardless of whether they describe, evaluate, or advocate, represent predispositions which, when activated, will lead to a response" (Rokeach 1968:119).

Attitudes group together to form ideologies. "An ideology is an organization of beliefs and attitudes -- religious, political or philosophical in nature -- that is more or less institutionalized or shared with others, deriving from external authority" (Rokeach

1968:123).

E. Glyn Lewis (1977:25-26) notes that it was "not until well after the Enlightenment that a sense of group identity was tied to the maintenance of its language, or that attitude to language became an ideology, thus ensuring that attitude to language not only reflected certain beliefs about that language but was transformed into a powerful tool of social action which often was only distantly associated with language."

Pietersen (1976:170) offers the following description of a language ideology:

> A system of language ideology could be considered as a system of ideas, norms, goals, expectations, etc., which contain an expressed justification of the language group position and that refer to central group values by which supporters and members of the language group can judge their own language attitudes and language behavior that of others. In this kind of language ideology is found an encouragement of and a justification of action, intended to perpetuate or reinforce the position of the (language) group. When the independence or the right to exist are in danger or argued, the language ideology will be more strongly motivated to action than usual.

Mainstream Americans' Language Ideology

In order to describe the underlying language ideology of mainstream Americans regarding bilingualism, one must determine the sets of attitudes and their related beliefs about the components of bilingualism. The following ideological framework is drawn from three attitudes and their corresponding sets of beliefs: 1) the attitude about the English language and other languages in America, 2) the attitude about non-English speakers and American society, and 3) the attitude about education and government with

regard to languages other than English.

The beliefs are drawn from the literature and include those presented by Ferguson and Heath (1981), Edwards (1989), Macías (1985), Heath (1977), Hirsch (1987), Judd (1987), Marshall (1986), and MacKaye (1987), along with those of the author. Tables 15, 16, and 17 present these three attitudes and their sets of beliefs. Taken together, the three tables describe mainstream Americans' language ideology related to the concept of bilingualism.

TABLE 15

MAINSTREAM AMERICANS' ATTITUDE TOWARD ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES IN AMERICA

| DESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS | EVALUATIVE BELIEFS | PRESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS |
|---|---|---|
| English is the official national language of the United States. | English is better than other languages. | English should be the world language. |
| English or any common language is a politically unifying force. | A native speaker of English is a better teacher of English as a second language than a non-native speaker. | The first thing immigrants should do is to learn English. |
| National language diversity is divisive. | Linguistic uniformity is good. | Immigrants should assimilate. |
| English is necessary for work and success in the United States. | | Immigrants should give up their native languages. |
| Americanism is expressed in English. | | Native English-speaking children should learn a foreign language. |
| Quick and intensive exposure to English results in faster acquisition of English. | | |
| Good English correlates with good behavior. | | |
| It is easy to learn English. | | |
| Stable bilingualism is not possible. | | |
| Bilingualism negatively affects intelligence. | | |
| Previous immigrants learned English. | | |

TABLE 15 (Continued)

MAINSTREAM AMERICANS' ATTITUDE TOWARD ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES IN AMERICA

| DESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS | EVALUATIVE BELIEFS | PRESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS |
|---|---|---|
| Hispanics want to make Spanish the official language of the United States. | | |
| Bilingualism means everyone will have to know two languages. | | |
| If you give status to Spanish, native English-speakers will have to learn Spanish. | | |
| Hispanics don't want to learn English. | | |

TABLE 16

MAINSTREAM AMERICANS' ATTITUDE TOWARD NON-ENGLISH SPEAKERS AND AMERICAN SOCIETY

| DESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS | EVALUATIVE BELIEFS | PRESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS |
|---|---|---|
| The United States is a melting pot. | "American" culture is better than any ethno-linguistic culture. | All immigrants should assimilate. |
| Previous immigrants assimilated. | White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant peoples are superior. | All immigrants should assimilate willingly. |
| Previous immigrants assimilated willingly and with no problems. | The societal status quo is good. | Newcomers should go to the tail end of the line in terms of receiving economic benefits. |
| Previous immigrants succeeded in American society. | | When jobs are scarce, they should go to "native" Americans. |
| Political unity is based on shared political ideals and cultural sameness. | | |
| Bilingual education is a Hispanic political movement. | | |
| Bilingual education is a Hispanic jobs program. | | |
| Non-English speakers think differently from English-speakers. | | |
| Balkanization and separatist movements in the United States are very possible. | | |
| Being able to speak English will end discrimination against non-native speakers. | | |

TABLE 16 (Continued)

MAINSTREAM AMERICANS' ATTITUDE TOWARD NON-ENGLISH SPEAKERS AND AMERICAN SOCIETY

| DESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS | EVALUATIVE BELIEFS | PRESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS |
|---|---|---|
| National unity means national uniformity. | | |
| Non-English speakers are linguistically deficient. | | |
| Immigrants are poor, illiterate, and backwards. | | |
| Illegal immigrants take jobs away from Americans. | | |
| Illegal immigrants don't pay taxes. | | |
| People from other cultures are "culturally deprived." | | |
| Language is the cause of societal problems in Canada. | | |

TABLE 17

MAINSTREAM AMERICANS' ATTITUDE TOWARD EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT

| DESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS | EVALUATIVE BELIEFS | PRESCRIPTIVE BELIEFS |
|---|---|---|
| No previous immigrant group ever made a claim for special treatment. | Government intervention in education is bad. | The government/schools should not be responsible for maintaining ethnic languages and cultures. |
| Bilingual education is more expensive than teaching English as a second language. | Foreign-born people are not good teachers. | The government/schools should promote assimilation. |
| Bilingual education is not effective. | | The government/tax money should not fund programs that promote ethnic identity and/or ethnic languages. |
| Bilingual education does not teach English. | | The government should not compensate/ remediate school in-equity. |
| Bilingual education delays the acquisition of English. | | Government business should be conducted only in English. |
| It is possible to legislate assimilation. | | People should only vote in English. |
| It is possible to legislate the acquisition of English. | | |
| Bilingual education promotes ethnic identity. | | |
| It is not possible to learn concepts in a language other than English. | | |

The language ideology described in the preceding tables reveals numerous beliefs held by mainstream Americans. Their attitude toward English and other languages in America, based on their descriptive, evaluative and prescriptive beliefs, might be summarized as "Since English, which is better than other languages, is the official, national language of the United States, all immigrants should give up their native languages and quickly learn English because linguistic uniformity is good and because English is the key to success in America." Their attitude toward non-English speakers and American society, based on their descriptive, evaluative and prescriptive beliefs, might be summarized as "Since maintaining the societal status quo is good, in the United States, which is a melting pot into which all previous immigrants assimilated into the superior White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant-based culture, all newcomers should willingly assimilate and take their place at the tail end of the line." Finally, mainstream Americans' attitude toward education and government, based on their descriptive, evaluative and prescriptive beliefs, could be summarized as "Since it is possible to legislate assimilation and the acquisition of English, and since bilingual education is ineffective and delays the acquisition of English, the government/tax money should not fund programs that promote ethnic identity and/or ethnic languages." Since native-English-speakers fulfill the requirements established by the various beliefs by the very fact of their being *native* speakers of English, mainstream Americans see no danger in this group becoming bilingual.

There are several themes which are reflected in the language ideology described in the preceding three tables. MacKaye (1987) has summarized them as language as common bond, language as access, language as ethnicity, and language as symbol. It is clear that for mainstream Americans, monolingualism in English fulfills these four functions. They believe that the English language is the common bond among Americans; speaking English provides access to economic success and social acceptance in the United States; giving up native languages means the absence of ethnic identity; and the English language is symbolic of America. Using Ruiz's (1984) orientation framework, it is clear that mainstream Americans view language as a problem, rather than as a right or a resource.

This language ideology also reflects many misconceptions and confusions, one of which, along with one particular philosophy about the structure of American society, must be addressed. Mainstream Americans clearly are confused about the difference between individual and societal bilingualism. They believe that if individuals are allowed (encouraged) to be bilingual, American society will have to become bilingual. They do not appear to understand that individual bilingualism involves numerous languages other than English. The consequence of individual bilingualism is societal multilingualism--a society where individuals are bilingual in English and one of any number of other languages. The logical consequence of individual bilingualism is not a society where <u>every</u> person speaks the same two languages, or even two languages.

"Monolinguals are a powerful minority in most parts of the world and have been in a position to impose their perspective on others as the only publicly valid one" (Romaine 1989:284). The language ideology of mainstream Americans regarding bilingualism appears to reflect a particular philosophy about society which seeks to maintain the status quo with regard to power within the society. This philosophy, when applied to language, has been termed "*linguicism*" by Skutnabb-Kangas (1988:13):

> Linguicism is akin to the other negative -isms: racism, classism, sexism, ageism. Linguicism can be defined as ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (i.e., their mother tongue).

As one reviews the history of the English language in America, including the present-day English-Only movement, it becomes evident that, using Skutnabb-Kangas' term, *linguicism* has played a major role in the suppression of minority languages in the United States. There are different forms of linguicism. Overt linguicism is exemplified by the prohibition of the use of particular languages for instruction. Covert linguicism is illustrated by certain languages *de facto* not being used as languages of instruction, even if not explicitly forbidden. When teachers tell students not to use their native language because such use will interfere with acquiring English, it is conscious linguicism. Finally, it is unconsciously linguicist when English is "assumed to be the ideal language for education, 'development' or 'national unity'" (Phillipson 1988:341).

> Linguicist ideology has affinities with the way racism is affirmed: it essentially involves the dominant group/language presenting an idealized

> image of itself, stigmatizing the dominated group/language, and rationalizing the relationship between the two, always to the advantage of the dominant group/language (Phillipson 1988:341).

Cummins (1989:110) suggests that in order to understand the current debate over bilingual education it must be placed in the broader context of power relations between rich and poor groups. Bilingual education threatens the societal power structure -- the current ways in which power is divided according to class, ethnicity, race and gender. He believes "the more empirical evidence is produced that certain types of programs result in personal and academic growth among minority students, the more vehement will be the denial of this evidence and the rejection of these programs by the dominant group" (Cummins 1989:110).

The situation is also described by Pietersen (1976:181):

> Let us take the situation of a language-ideological minority where the speakers of the majority language form the dominant group. In such a (not uncommon) situation the language is an important element of power in the determination of positions. The members of the dominant language group are in a privileged position because the most desirable and scarce functions require a command of the majority language. When the language-ideological minority group succeeds in the realization of a number of its demands (e.g. education in its language, too; bilingualism for administrative functions; subsidizing of its literature, etc.) this minority language becomes a competitor. It will be considered by the majority groups as a hindrance to their social mobility and as such cause resistance.

A language ideology such as the one held by mainstream Americans regarding bilingualism is largely unconscious. Mainstream Americans accept the descriptive beliefs as true, based on their evaluative beliefs. Their prescriptive beliefs are a natural

consequence of the other beliefs. Bem (1970:89) notes:

> A society's ability to inculcate this kind of ideology into its citizens is the most subtle and profound form of social influence. It is also the most difficult kind of social influence to challenge because it remains invisible. Even those who consider themselves sufficiently radical or intellectual to have rejected the basic premises of a particular societal ideology often find their belief systems unexpectedly cluttered with its remnants.

Almost every single descriptive belief listed in the above-described language ideology can be documented as false; evidence exists which proves them wrong. But the fact of the matter is that rational argument has virtually no effect on people's beliefs. Presentation of facts which are contrary to held beliefs will not automatically result in changing people's beliefs.

Summary

Mainstream Americans do have a particular language ideology which, when analyzed in terms of the prescriptive, descriptive, and evaluative beliefs which compose their attitudes towards languages and American society, reflect the central role of the English language in this ideology. Since native English-speakers fulfill the conditions set forth in the various beliefs by the very fact of their being *native* speakers of English, bilingualism can be accepted for these persons. Their allegiance to English (i.e., identity as Americans) cannot be questioned. If they learn another language it will not replace English as either a symbol or tool for being an American -- as long as no other language becomes strong enough to challenge the position of English. On the other hand,

bilingualism cannot be accepted for those persons whose native language is other than English because their "Americanness" will be in question as long as there is another language associated with their identity. Furthermore, any potential challenge to the English language can only be controlled by restricting bilingualism. Consequently, mainstream Americans act in accordance with this language ideology and support policies which encourage bilingualism for native English-speakers and oppose policies which encourage bilingualism for non-native speakers of English.

# CHAPTER 7

# SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

## Introduction

This study has examined the attitudes of mainstream Americans toward bilingualism. It is clear that this population makes a distinction between bilingualism for native speakers of English and bilingualism for non-native speakers of English. Mainstream Americans do hold a bilingual double standard: they hold different attitudes toward a native English-speaker's acquisition of a second language and a non-native speaker's maintenance of the native language along with the acquisition of English.

The major findings of this study are summarized in this chapter.

## America's Multilingual Heritage and the Pre-eminence of English

This study has documented America's multilingual heritage. It has shown that four different processes -- migration, imperialism, federation, and border area contact -- worked together to make the United States multilingual. Although the pre-eminence of the English language was established early in the country's history -- the dominant group in each of the thirteen colonies that formed the Union was British -- languages other than English have always been in use and continue to be used today.

America's multilingual heritage has been influenced by two significant factors:

the diversity of its immigrants and the role of public education in the "assimilation" of these immigrants. The sheer diversity of the linguistic background of those who have immigrated to the United States worked to ensure that English would be the common language of the country. Throughout the history of the United States, only two languages have ever threatened the status of English as the dominant language of the country: German during the early days of the country and Spanish today.

As a language planning tool, Fasold's (1984:71-82) framework provides for predicting how successful a language will be in fulfilling a particular function. If one applies Fasold's approach of comparing the sociolinguistic attributes required by a language function with those possessed by a language designated to fulfill it, it can be shown that the position of English has been and is presently secure. Table 18 provides such an analysis.

# TABLE 18

## LANGUAGE PROFILE OF THE UNITED STATES

| FUNCTION | ATTRIBUTES | ENGLISH PAST AND PRESENT | GERMAN IN THE PAST | SPANISH IN THE PRESENT | OTHERS PAST AND PRESENT |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Official | Standardization | + | + | + | +/- |
| | Known by cadre of educated citizens | + | - | - | - |
| Group | Used by all members in ordinary conversation | + | + | + | + |
| | Unifying and separatist device | + | + | + | + |
| Nationalistic | Symbol of national identity for a significant proportion of the population | + | + | + | - |
| | Widely used for some everyday purpose | + | + | + | - |
| | Widely and fluently spoken within the country | + | + | + | - |
| | No major alternative nationalist languages in the country | + | - | 0 | - |
| | Acceptable as a symbol of authenticity | + | + | + | +/- |
| | Link with glorious past | + | + | + | +/- |
| Educational | Understood by learners | +/- | +/- | +/- | +/- |
| | Sufficient teaching resources | + | + | + | +/- |
| | Sufficient standardization | + | + | + | +/- |
| Wider Communi-cation | 'Learnable' as a second language | + | + | + | +/- |
| International | On the list of potential international languages | + | + | + | +/- |
| School subject | Standardization equals or exceeds that of the language of the learners | + | + | + | +/- |
| Religious | Classical | - | - | - | - |

+ = Attribute Present - = Attribute Absent 0 = Attribute Potentially Present

Despite the process of language loss, continued immigration and increasing ethnic awareness will ensure the continuance of multilingualism in American society and bilingualism (in English and the native language) on the part of linguistic minority populations.

At the same time, language planning activities will continue to ensure the pre-eminence of English in the United States. As Haugen (1987:55) points out, language planning may be "overt or covert, official or private." The British tradition of language policy brought to America was "covert and private: language was a personal issue." Within the realm of "status planning," although the Constitution of the United States did not specify English as the official language of the country, there is a significant body of language-status-planning decisions, including laws and court decisions, which protect the position of English and establish language policy (Hornberger 1990:17-19).

Given the secure position of English in the United States, one must question the necessity of today's movement to amend the Constitution to make English the official language of the country. As Hornberger (1990:23) notes, "the English Language Amendment would be the second attempt to amend the Constitution along restrictive lines, the first time being Prohibition; all other amendments have been intended to expand individual rights and freedoms."

Hispanics as a "Nationality" in the United States

This study has brought to light the current concerns of mainstream Americans regarding bilingualism for non-native speakers of English and has noted that Hispanics are not like previous immigrant groups in terms of their assimilation pattern.

What distinguishes the Spanish language group from other language minorities (except, perhaps, the Navajos) "is not the lower rate of anglicization which has been found," but rather "the fact that anglicization more frequently takes the form of English bilingualism, i.e., more frequent than a complete shift to English monolingualism (Veltman 1983:90).

Sheer numbers are one explanation. "Such linguistic concentration [Spanish] is quite unprecedented in the long history of United States immigration. While there were substantial concentrations of a particular language group in past decades (e.g., 28% German-speaking in 1881-90 and 23% Italian-speaking in 1901-10), previous immigration flows generally were characterized by a broad diversity of linguistic flows..." (Harrington 1984:156).

Otheguy (1982:306) explains the situation as follows:

> During the period of European migration, the United States was home to large numbers of foreign-born people who spoke many different languages. In the first half of this century, however, no one group ever comprised more than 25% of all immigrants for any given year. And during the closing decades of the 19th century the largest group was always primarily English-speaking. Today the country is much more widely English-speaking than ever before, English today is the usual language in 94% of United States households, up from 80% during the

> decades of massive immigration. The non-English speaking population, on the other hand, is much less diverse, Spanish is spoken today six times more than the next most commonly spoken foreign language, Italian.

It appears, however, that the difference is due to more than numbers. Fishman (1972) has drawn the distinction between "nationalities" and "nations." Nationalities are "sociocultural units that have developed beyond primarily local self-concepts, concerns, and integrative bonds." Members of a nationality think of themselves as a social unit different from other groups, but not just on a purely local scale. "Ethnic groups" are just like nationalities, except they are a level of sociocultural organization that is "simpler, smaller, more particularistic, more localistic." A "nation," according to Fishman, is "any political-territorial unit which is largely or increasingly under the control of a particular nationality." A nation is distinct from a state, polity or country in that the latter may not be independent of external control, whereas a nation is. A nation can consist of a variety of ethnic groups. Fasold (1984:4) points out that "A useful indicator of nationality versus simple ethnicity might be the degree to which a group maintains and advocates the use of its language versus the degree to which it is prepared to abandon it."

If Hispanics in the United States today constitute a "nationality," whereas the immigrant groups of the past were "ethnic groups," differences in language maintenance patterns can be explained. Macías (1979:50), Piatt (1990:26), and others have described the differences between Hispanics and other immigrant groups, as summarized below.

Most European immigrants tended to cluster in defined regions or ghettos. The

large and growing size of the domestic Spanish-speaking population and the scattering of this large group throughout the country has given the United States Spanish-speaking population a national character.

Secondly, the physical proximity of the motherland and development of access through transportation advances were not present with the immigration of past language groups as it is with the Hispanics. This proximity allows for constant revitalization of Hispanic culture and language.

Continuing immigration and internal migration result in intergenerational and interregional commingling. These support language maintenance because the older generation is present to "pass on" the language and culture and because new immigrants tend to be monolingual in Spanish.

There has been the development of an institutional language infrastructure. Bilingual education is offered in schools and Spanish is the most popular foreign language. Bilingual ballots are available and court translators are mandated by law. The Spanish language mass media, literature, cinema, and the popularity of "Latin" music are all indications of the existence of an institutional Spanish language infrastructure.

The growing political and economic strength of Hispanics unites Hispanics across the country and provides the opportunity to respond as a group regarding "Hispanic" issues.

If Hispanics are, indeed, a "nationality" in Fishman's sense, then traditional

approaches to assimilation will not work with this group. Furthermore, if Spanish-speakers, as a speech community, continue to use Spanish in a particular domain such as the family, there is the possibility that a situation of diglossia with bilingualism would be established, thus stabilizing bilingualism within the community (Haugen 1987:17; Fasold 1984:40-41; Fishman 1972:91-106).

Attitudes Toward Bilingualism

This study has documented the various attitudes held toward bilingualism throughout the history of the United States. It suggests that attitudes toward bilingualism for native speakers of English and bilingualism for non-native speakers of English shifted during the course of history due to the influences of demographics, economics, and nationalism. As Phillips (1990:48) notes, "The history of languages in the United States has been one bereft of steadfastness and deliberateness; instead, it has been one in which the changing tides of economic, social, and political pressures have influenced whether English has been actively or passively promoted, whether foreign language study has been advocated or ignored, and whether ethnic languages have been preserved, protected, or abolished."

This study has identified eight distinct periods in the history of the United States with regard to mainstream Americans' attitudes toward bilingualism:

1) 1607-1783: High degree of support for bilingualism for non-native speakers

of English; minimal support for bilingualism for native English-speakers. It was widely accepted that linguistic minorities would maintain their native languages and learn English. Classical foreign languages were part of the education of the few elite and modern foreign languages were considered a "frill."

2) 1783-1830: There was continued support for bilingualism for non-native English-speakers, but the beginning signs of concern about the sanctity of English appeared. Classical foreign languages were still regarded highly by the small number of elite and modern foreign languages were looked upon as either "frills" or "tools."

3) 1830-1890: Support for bilingualism for non-native speakers declined as nativist groups formed. By the end of this period modern foreign languages had gained considerably in popularity.

4) 1890-1923: The influx of immigrants contributed to the sharp decline in positive attitudes toward bilingualism for non-native speakers of English. The "Americanization Movement" and World War I put an end to bilingual education in the United States. Foreign language instruction became predominantly modern foreign languages and, with the exception of a brief decline during World War I in reaction to the Germans, maintained its popularity.

5) 1923-1953: During the Depression years, foreign languages lost in popularity and bilingual education was virtually non-existent. After World War II, interest in foreign languages began to increase.

6) 1953-1968: In response to the launching of Sputnik, bilingualism for native English-speakers became a priority. The federal government invested significantly in this effort. Although the general public's attitude toward bilingual education remained unchanged, pilot projects were begun in Florida and the Southwest.

7) 1968-1980: Immigration and increasing ethnic awareness caused a sharp shift in attitudes toward bilingualism. Bilingual education was endorsed by the federal and state governments while interest in foreign languages declined rapidly.

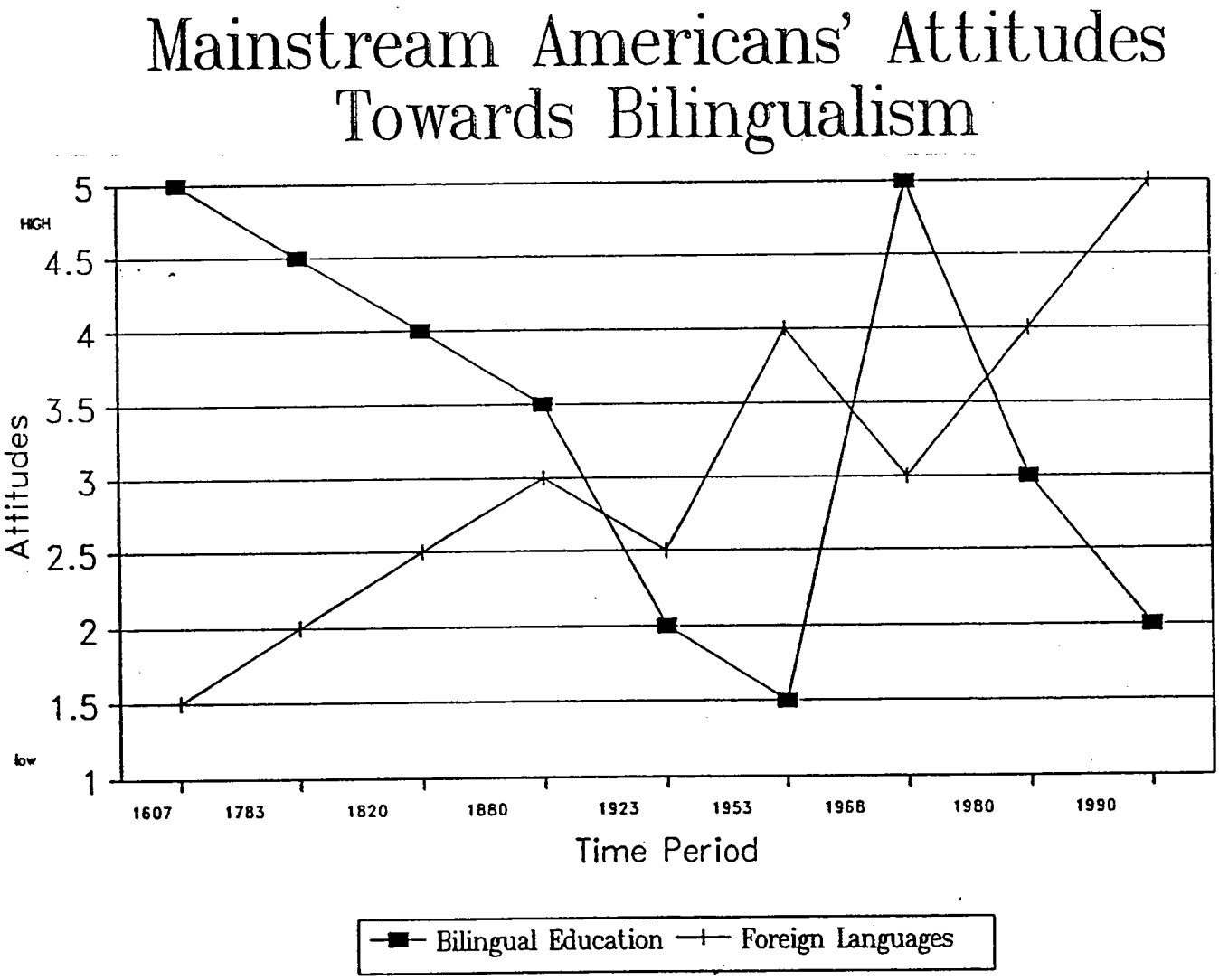
8) 1980-Present: In reaction to the "new" immigrants, xenophobia has become rampant. The movement to make English the official language of the United States has taken hold; concerns have been raised over bilingual education. At the same time, educational reform movements have endorsed foreign language instruction for native English-speakers.

The study also examined the results of public opinion polls which suggest widespread support for bilingualism for native English-speakers. The surveys also provide some indication of the characteristics of those who are more likely to support bilingualism for non-native speakers of English. It appears that the younger a person is; the more liberal his/her political affiliation; the greater his/her support for social and educational programs and support from the government; and the deeper one's belief in cultural pluralism, the greater the level of support for bilingualism for non-native speakers of English. The polls also identify the concept of cultural maintenance as the

most salient feature of bilingual education programs which cause negative reactions.

One of the goals of this study was to determine whether García's claim that "as public attitudes against natural bilingualism increase, interest in learned bilingualism increases" was true. Based on the historical evidence presented in this study, Table 19 has been created. It shows that throughout history mainstream Americans have held distinct attitudes toward the two types of bilingualism and, furthermore, an inverse relationship does appear to exist.

TABLE 19


Mainstream Americans' Attitudes Towards Bilingualism
HIGH
5
4.5
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
low
1
Attitudes
1607
1783
1820
1880
1923
1953
1968
1980
1990
Time Period
Bilingual Education
Foreign Languages

Mainstream Americans' Language Ideology and the Bilingual Double Standard

This study has described the underlying language ideology of mainstream Americans with regard to bilingualism, which explains the existence of the bilingual double standard. It is an ideology based on attitudes toward non-English speakers, American society, and the role of education and the government, among other factors.

Heath (1977:64) points out that "folk notions current link aspects of language ideology to 'sacred' aspects of American culture." Language ideology, in her view, "can prevent decision makers at both planning and implementing levels from objectively appraising alternatives to maintenance of the school variety [of language] in the classroom and its extension to the community as well ... language ideology in social processes can also provide the rationale for programs designed to eliminate divergent language varieties (Heath 1977:65).

The language ideology of mainstream Americans reflects the orientation of language as a problem for non-native speakers of English and the orientation of language as resource for native speakers of English. It is an ideology based on linguicism, which uses language to maintain the social status quo and the present division of power in society. Haugen (1987:146) describes this phenomenon, which occurs "whenever languages meet under conditions of unequal extension or prestige. Minorities are dominated by elites, and languages are means by which elites maintain their dominion. They make the minorities uncertain of their own values, and they press or encourage

them to reject their old ethnicities, without necessarily granting them admission to or status in the new society."

It is clear that a bilingual double standard does exist. Ferguson and Heath (1981:xxxiv) point out that "From at least the time of World War I and possibly as far back as the Modern Languages movement of the 1880s, there has been a sharp distinction in attitudes toward non-English languages between the languages of immigrants and the foreign languages taught in school." Based on the evidence presented in this study, this distinction appears to have been in place well before the 1880s. It continues today as the United States "has chosen this time to develop language policies and plans that on one front reek of the parochial, the restrictive, and the isolationist, while on another they encourage international communication and understanding" (Phillips 1990:45).

Public figures both influence and reflect public opinion. Quotations from two such persons illustrate the pervasiveness of the bilingual double standard. The first set of quotations is from President Ronald Reagan. With regard to bilingualism for native English-speakers, he said:

> I urge parents and community and business leaders alike to join educators in encouraging our youth to begin the study of a foreign language at an early age and to continue the study of this language until a significant level of proficiency has been achieved" (National Advisory Board on International Eduction Programs 1983:5).

The same President made the following comments regarding bilingualism for non-native speakers of English:

> Now, bilingual education, there is a need, but there is also a purpose that has been distorted again at the federal level. Where there are predominantly students speaking a foreign language at home, coming to school and being taught English, and they fall behind or are unable to keep up in some subjects because of the lack of knowledge of the language, I think it is proper that we have teachers equipped who can get at them in their own language and understand why it is they don't get the answer to the problem and help them in that way. But is it absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving their native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out into the job market and participate" (Crawford 1989:42).

Hirsh, in his 1987 book, Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know, addresses the issue of bilingualism as follows:

> In considering bilingualism in America, we should therefore understand that well-meaning linguistic pluralism, which would encourage rather than discourage competing languages within our borders, is much different from Jeffersonian pluralism, which has encouraged a diversity of traditions, values, and opinions. Toleration of diversity is at the root of our society, but encouragement of multilingualism is contrary to our traditions and extremely unrealistic...I know that well-meaning bilingualism could unwittingly erect serious barriers to cultural literacy among our young people and therefore create serious barriers to universal literacy at a mature level. I am opposed neither to biliteracy nor to the learning of foreign languages. I am strongly in favor of both. In the best of worlds, all Americans would be multiliterate. But surely the first step in that direction must be for all of us to become literate in our own national language and culture (Hirsch 1987:93).

Mainstream Americans' language ideology is based on myths and beliefs about language which are largely unconscious. For this reason, it is extremely difficult to change such attitudes. Rational argument does not work because the facts contradict the beliefs. Proponents of bilingual education cannot combat negative public opinion with

"evidence," for it will not change attitudes.

Foreign Language Instruction and Bilingual Education in the United States

"As one of society's main socializing instruments, the school plays a powerful role in exerting social control over its pupils. It endorses mainstream and largely middle class values" (Romaine 1989:217). An examination of mainstream Americans' attitudes toward educational policies regarding bilingual education and foreign language instruction, consequently, provides insights into their attitudes toward bilingualism.

Throughout the history of the United States, public support for foreign language instruction has continued to grow, dipping only twice in its steady increase over the years. This study has shown that attitudes toward bilingualism for native English-speakers have not fluctuated as radically as have those toward bilingualism for non-native speakers of English. Mainstream Americans hold positive attitudes toward learning foreign languages, although compared to other academic subjects, such as mathematics and science, foreign languages may not be a priority. While the language ideology of mainstream Americans reflects a belief that bilingualism for native English-speakers is good, it does not, at the present time, include a belief that it is important.

Grittner's (1990) review of "bandwagons" throughout the history of teaching foreign languages in the United States illustrates that debates about foreign language instruction have centered around methodology. When mainstream Americans have

viewed foreign language programs as ineffective, they have called for the use of new methods rather than abolishment of the programs.

Those who advocate foreign language instruction for native English-speakers must convince mainstream Americans that there are concrete benefits to being bilingual; that knowing a second language is not just "a nice extra," but rather an essential ingredient in making the American people economic and diplomatic world leaders. Although this may be difficult, foreign language educators have the advantage that mainstream Americans already *believe* that knowing another language is good for native English-speakers.

Attitudes toward bilingualism for non-native speakers of English have gone from one extreme to another more than once during the history of the United States. *Tolerance*, rather than *support*, is the word that should be used when describing how the general public has viewed bilingual education.

Opponents of bilingual education point to the past, claiming that previous immigrants "made it" without special assistance. History shows us that this is not true. "The children of immigrants non-English-speaking countries entered high school far less often than the children of native whites did. This pattern should serve as something of a cautionary note about turning to the past as a model for the present" (Perlmann 1990:37). The American society of the late 21st century is far different from that of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. No longer an agrarian society needing considerable

manual labor, our technologically-advanced world requires far more basic skills for even the lowest level jobs in the workplace.

Proponents of bilingual education frequently point to the past, claiming that there is a bilingual education tradition in this country. They cite the fact that for many years prior to World War I, numerous programs which used languages other than English as media of instruction not only existed throughout the United States, but were supported by the general public.

This study has brought to light one important fact about the history of bilingual education in the United States. In the minds of mainstream Americans the goal of teaching *in* foreign languages (as opposed to the teaching *of* foreign languages) has always been to facilitate the acquisition of English and the assimilation of the ethnic group. The only model of bilingual education which has ever received widespread public support is *transitional* bilingual education. As Romaine (1989:284) notes: "It is a cultural fact that no Anglophone nation anywhere has exhibited enthusiasm for any kind of bilingualism other than transitional." The goal of transitional bilingual education is *monolingualism in English.*

As early as 1753 the model of transitional bilingual education was proposed as a means of facilitating the assimilation of non-English speaking peoples in the United States. Throughout the 1800s, although private schools may have provided instruction exclusively in languages other than English, as the public education system developed,

the type of bilingual education which was provided was, for the most part, transitional.

Bilingual education proponents who point to the past as justification for the continued existence of transitional bilingual education today are correct; transitional bilingual education was a generally accepted educational approach in the past. However, citing history is not a good rationale for those bilingual education proponents who advocate the implementation of bilingual education programs which have the goal of *bilingualism* (i.e., the maintenance and development of native language skills along with the addition of proficiency in English).

The past must be put into proper perspective and bilingual education advocates must be careful that the past as described by Andersson and Boyer (1978:22) is not repeated:

> A balance sheet for this early period of bilingual education comprises many negative factors, which more than outweigh the occasional successes. All too often the existence of a bilingual program was attributable to the political pressure of the German element in a community rather than to a shared conviction by English-speaking and German-speaking alike that *all* children stand to benefit from instruction in two languages. Frequently the English-speaking citizens were merely tolerant, not really convinced of the educational benefits of two languages, silent only if the cost remained moderate. The school board and the school administrators endured a program as long as an efficient supervisor took full responsibility for its direction.

Bilingual education advocates also have much to learn from examining mainstream Americans' attitudes toward bilingualism. The first lesson is that the general public still does not understand that bilingual education is an approach to teaching *academic content*

*material* to students who do not speak English, not a method of teaching the English language. Bilingual educators must do a better job of explaining how bilingual education works. But without changing the image of the program, explanations may be harmful. As Huddy and Sears (1990:131) found, those mainstream Americans with the greatest knowledge about bilingual education were more opposed to it than others. "Given widespread negative anti-immigrant attitudes, growing political conservatism, and some reservations among the public about greater government spending on programs such as foreign language instruction, it seems likely that increased information about bilingual education would decrease support for it."

The second lesson is that there are certain characteristics of bilingual education programs which provoke stronger negative attitudes from mainstream Americans than do other characteristics. For example, the concept of cultural maintenance draws stronger negative reactions from mainstream Americans than does the concept of teaching students in a language they understand. "One reason for this greater aversion to the [cultural] maintenance approach is that it was more likely to evoke negative racial attitudes than the ESL plan" (Huddy and Sears 1990:133). A greater understanding of mainstream Americans' attitudes would enable bilingual education proponents to better "sell" their programs.

Thirdly, advocates of bilingual education must change the image of bilingual education and the students they serve. As long as bilingual education programs are

perceived and conducted as remedial, compensatory education programs designed for linguistic minority students to compensate for a "language deficiency," mainstream Americans will not support the programs. If, however, the general public could be convinced that bilingual education programs provide benefits for mainstream students, bilingual education's image would be a much more positive one.

Finally, bilingual education advocates can prepare for the future by studying history. Today's English-Only movement is nothing new. The arguments presented today against bilingual education have been around for the last two centuries. Bilingual education proponents should not be surprised by the opposition they meet, rather they should be better prepared for it and, with a greater understanding of the nature of language attitudes, take an offensive, rather than a defensive, position.

As Haugen (1987:11) has said, "To convince those who oppose such programs we need to show them that they are beneficial and in no way harmful to the children. We have to prove that such proposals are not un-American or unpatriotic, and that they make the United States a better place to live."

## The Future of Bilingualism in United States

All indications are that both continued immigration to the United States and the language maintenance efforts of native-born linguistic minorities will maintain America's multilingual heritage in the future. If history teaches us anything, however, groups such

as U.S. ENGLISH should learn that you cannot legislate either the acquisition of the English language or the abandonment of native languages. Making English the official language of the United States will not eliminate the use of languages other then English in this country. Furthermore, movements such as U.S. English are dangerous; they threaten the principles upon which this nation was founded.

The motives behind the English-Only movement may, in fact, encourage multilingualism in the United States. "Ethnicity will not maintain a language in a multilingual setting if the dominant group allows assimilation and if incentive and opportunity of access to the national language are present ... But when these same ethnic groups instead of socioeconomic opportunity see stigmatization, discrimination, economic exploitation, or systematic unemployment, they are perfectly likely to use the original mother tongue as a strategy for mobilization" (Paulston 1990:44,39).

There are no indications that mainstream American's attitudes toward bilingualism are likely to change in the near future. The bilingual double standard is rooted in mainstream Americans' language ideology. As Conklin and Lourie (1983:232) note, "A definition of American nationality that encompasses the reality of dual identity -- American and ethnic -- would enable the United States to make direct use of the resource its citizenry represents. Any narrower definition makes our multiculturalism a liability rather than an asset." As long as mainstream Americans continue to view bilingualism for non-native speakers of English from the orientation of language as a problem, there

will be a reaction whenever any linguistic minority group appears to be a threat to the status quo.

Both bilingual education and foreign language instruction have the same goal: bilingualism. In fact, bilingual education programs have greater potential for producing truly bilingual persons than do current foreign language programs. But given mainstream Americans' language ideology, it is likely that they will continue to support the learning of foreign languages by native English-speakers at the same time that they expect native speakers of other languages to give up those languages and learn English. Mainstream Americans are not even ready to accept bilingualism on the part of individual members of linguistic minority groups, particularly if they are Hispanic and if it is developed outside the home (i.e., in schools).

It is difficult to predict the future in today's rapidly changing world. Unless there is a dramatic shift in world power resulting in a loss of status for English as a world language; unless the Spanish-speaking peoples (or some other linguistic minority group) in the United States become so numerous and so politically powerful they can enforce their demands for bilingualism; and unless some other event changes mainstream Americans' attitudes, bilingualism in the United States will remain, for the foreseeable future, an issue of controversy.

# CHAPTER 8

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are a number of topics touched on in this study which could benefit from further sociolinguistic research. Since language ideology is at the core of the current debates regarding English as the official language of the United States and the provision of bilingual education, it would be instructive to compare the language ideology of mainstream Americans to that of linguistic minority Americans and document the differences. A direct measure of language attitudes, such as a questionnaire based on the descriptive, evaluative, and prescriptive beliefs outlined in this study, could be administered to a group of mainstream Americans and to a group of language minority Americans. A comparison of the results might provide a better basis for future discussions between majority and minority Americans, not to mention a greater understanding of each other's point of view.

Public opinion polls have shown that for mainstream Americans the concept of "cultural maintenance" is the most objectionable aspect of bilingual education programs. Further research into what is meant by and what is understood by the term "culture" could explain why such a negative reaction is aroused. Is language the most salient and most objectionable aspect of "culture" in the minds of mainstream Americans, or are there other components of "culture" which are equally or more objectionable? It would

also be helpful for those planning both bilingual education and foreign language programs to obtain more information on the characteristics of each type of program which evoke positive (and negative) attitudes on the part of mainstream Americans. Again, using a direct measure of attitudes such as a questionnaire that listed all the features of bilingual education and foreign language programs and asked the respondents to rank them in order of degree of acceptance might provide significant insight into mainstream Americans' opinions. It might then be possible to more effectively describe such programs, without compromising them, by recognizing those characteristics which are the most acceptable and the most objectionable.

Public opinion polls have given sometimes contradictory indications of the characteristics of those mainstream Americans who are more or less likely to support bilingual education, particularly with regard to socio-economic class. It would be instructive to conduct further investigations into the correlations between demographic characteristics of mainstream Americans of age, income, and education and their attitudes toward bilingualism. For those persons planning to implement both bilingual education and foreign language programs, a more thorough knowledge of the attitudes of the community in which the programs will operate is important to the overall success of such programs.

The current movement to make English the official language of the United States provides the opportunity for much further research. Although U.S. ENGLISH claims

it only wants to make English the official language, many people suspect they want to make English the *only* language in the United States. Replication of a study similar to the Cardoza, Huddy, and Sears (1984) "Symbolic Attitudes Study" with the U.S. ENGLISH membership has the potential for revealing the racial and political symbolic attitudes of this particular group. It would also be constructive to compare today's English-Only movement to that of the early 1900s; to identify the real motivation behind today's movement; and to see what the outcome of the current xenophobic atmosphere in the United States is.

If Hispanics are, in fact, a "nationality," further research could identify how the American society will have to accommodate this group in the future. Ethnographic research into language usage among Hispanics by domain would document whether diglossia does exist in the Hispanic community.

Further research into the attitudes of mainstream Americans regarding bilingualism would contribute to the development of future language policy. Investigation into the potential effects of making English the official language of the United States would show whether individual rights and opportunities would be abridged by such actions. If English were made the official language of the country, would social and educational services, along with opportunities to participate in the economic and political arenas, be restricted? Restrictive policies could also have serious implications for the non-English language print and telecommunications media in the United States.

Further research into the attitudes of mainstream Americans regarding bilingualism would help to direct future educational policy as well. Which model of bilingual education and what type of foreign language instructional methods should be used depend to a great extent on the goals of society. More investigation into language attitudes might determine whether developmental bilingual education, where both native and non-native speakers of English are taught in two languages with the goal of bilingualism, has any chance of widespread implementation throughout the country. It could also shed light on the potential success of the current move toward multicultural education.

Finally, additional research into language attitudes could contribute to the development of future social policy in the United States. Mainstream Americans must come to realize that the existence of languages other than English in the United States is not solely, or even primarily, a result of immigration. Policies designed to protect the civil rights of individuals and to promote equal opportunity for *all* Americans must take into account the language attitudes of mainstream Americans.

# REFERENCES

## COURT CASES

*Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954).

*Castefieda v. Pickard*, 648 F.2d 989 (5th Cir. 1981).

*Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563, 94 S. Ct. 786 (1974).

*Meyer v. Nebraska*, 262-7 U.S. 390, 53 S. Ct. 325-403 (1923).

*Plyer v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202, 102 S. Ct. 2382 (1982).

## LAWS AND BILLS

Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C.

Education Amendments of 1967, Public Law 90-247, January 2, 1968.

Education Amendments of 1974, Public Law 93-380, August 21, 1974.

Education Amendments of 1978, Public Law 95-561, 1978.

Education Amendments of 1984, Public Law 98-511, October 19, 1984.

Education Amendments of 1988, Public Law 100-297.

Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974, 20 U.S.C.

National Defense Education Act, Public Law 85-864, 1958.

National Security Education Act of 1991 (Senate Bill ) July 15, 1991.

## BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Allport, Gordon W. "Attitudes." In *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*, pp. 1-13. Edited by Fishbein. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967.

Anderson, Edmund A. "Language Beliefs Relative to Language Learning in the Latin Community in Washington, D.C." In *Evaluation of the Program for the Spanish Speaking Community (Adult Education Demonstration Center, D.C. Public Schools), Washington, D.C.* Rosslyn, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, June 3, 1971.

Andersson, Theodore. "Popular and Elite Bilingualism Reconciled." *Hispania* 59:3 (September, 1976): 497-498.

Andersson, Theodore, and Boyer, Mildred. *Bilingual Schooling in the United States. Second Edition.* Austin, TX: National Educational Laboratory Publishers, Inc., 1978.

Annamalai, E. "Comment: Legal vs. Social." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 145-152.

Bagster-Collins, E.W. *The History of Modern Language Teaching in the United States.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930.

Barken, Elliott Robert. "Americas All? Well, Some...: Immigrants, Refugees, and California Public Opinion, January 1982." *Migration Today* 12:1 (1984): 12-20.

Baron, Dennis. *The English-Only Question: An Official Language for Americans?* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Bean, Frank; Vernez, Georges; and Keely, Charles. *Opening and Closing the Doors: Evaluating Immigration Reform and Control.* Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press, 1989.

Beardsmore, Hugo Baetens, and Willemyns, Roland. "Comment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 117-128.

Bem, Daryl J. *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Human Affairs.* Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1970.

Bennett, William. Speech presented to the Association for a Better New York, New York City, September 26, 1985.

Bernbaum, Gerald. *Bilingualism in Society.* Cambridge, MA: National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual/Bicultural Education, 1979.

Bouvier, L., and Gardner, R. "Immigration to the United States: The Unfinished Story." *Population Bulletin* 41:4 (1986).

Bremner, Robert H. *From the Depths: The Discovery of Poverty in the United States.* New York: New York University Press, 1966.

Brod, Richard I., editor. *Language Study for the 1980s: Reports of the MLA-ACLS Language Task Forces.* New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1980.

Castellanos, Diego. *The Best of Two Worlds: Bilingual-Bicultural Education in the U.S.* Trenton, NJ: New Jersey State Department of Education, 1983.

Cardoza, Desdemona; Huddy, Leonie; and Sears, David. *The Symbolic Attitudes Study: Public Attitudes Towards Bilingual Education.* Los Alamitos, CA: National Center for Bilingual Research, 1984.

Cardoza, Desdemona; Sánchez, Angel A.; and Mendoza, Richard. *Attitudes Toward Bilingual Education and Foreign Language Instruction Among Four Ethno-linguistic Groups.* Los Alamitos, CA: National Center for Bilingual Research, April, 1985.

Carlson, Robert A. *The Americanization Syndrome: A Quest for Conformity.* New York: St. Martin's Press: 1987.

Cavazos, Lauro. Speech presented in Laredo, Texas, August 1990.

Chamot, Anna Uhl. "Bilingualism in Education and Bilingual Education: The State of the Art in the United States." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 9:1&2 (1988): 11-35.

Clausen, Henry C., *Language and American Survival.* Washington, D.C.: The Supreme Council, 33° Mother Council of the World, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, USA, 1984.

Cole, Stephan. *Attitudes Toward Bilingual Education Among Hispanics and a Nationwide Sample*. New York: Immigration Research Program, Center for the Social Sciences at Columbia University, 1980.

Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives. *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education on H.R. 3231, National Security and Economic Growth through Foreign Language Improvement*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1981.

"Congressional Record." Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

Congressional Research Service. "Memorandum on S. 358, the 'Immigration Act of 1990,' as Approved by Congress." November 9, 1990.

"Controversy Over Bilingual Education: Pro & Con," *Congressional Digest*, 66:3 (March 1987) 68-96.

Conklin, Nancy Faires, and Lourie, Margaret A. *Host of Tongues: Language Communities in the United States*. New York: The Free Press, 1983.

Cooper, Robert L., and Fishman, Joshua. "The Study of Language Attitudes." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 3 (1974), 5-19.

Cordasco, Francesco. *Bilingual Schooling in the United States: A Sourcebook for Educational Personnel.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976.

Crawford, James. "Bilingual Education: Language, Learning, and Politics." *Education Week* VI:27 (April 1, 1987): 19-50.

_____. *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory and Practice.* Trenton, NJ: Crane Publishing Company, 1989.

Cummins, Jim. *Empowering Minority Students*. Sacramento, CA: California Association for Bilingual Education, 1989.

Daniels, Harvey, editor. *Not Only English: Affirming America's Multilingual Heritage.* Champaign, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1990.

de la Peña, Fernando. *Democracy or Babel? The Case for Official English.* Washington, DC: U.S. ENGLISH, 1991.

Dexter, Edwin Grant. *A History of Education in the United States.* New York: Burt Franklin, 1971.

Diamond, Sigmund. *Historical Aspects of Bilingualism in the United States.* New York: Immigration Research Program, Center for the Social Sciences at Columbia University, n.d..

Draper, Jamie B., editor. *Dreams, Realities and Nightmares: The Present and Future of Foreign Language Education in the United States.* Washington, DC: Joint National Committee for Languages, 1991.

Duhamel, Ronald J., and Duhamel, Carolyn S. "The Political Social Context of Implementing and Developing Second Language Programs." Paper presented at the Canadian School Trustees' Association Congress on Education, Toronto, Ontario, June 17-21, 1978.

Dyste, Connie. "Proposition 63: The California English Language Amendment." *Applied Linguistics* 10:3 (September 1989): 313-330.

Eddy, Peter A. "Foreign Languages in the USA: A National Survey of American Attitudes and Experience." *The Modern Language Journal* 64 (Spring 1980): 59-63.

_____. "Language Teaching in the United States Since the President's Commission: Has Anything Changed?" *The Linguistic Reporter* 23:4 (December 1980): 2-4.

Editorial Research Reports. *Education Report Card: Schools on the Line.* Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1985.

Edwards, John. "Social Purposes of Bilingual Education: U.S. English, the ELA and other Matters." Paper presented at the Meridian House International/US English Conference on Public Policy Issues in Bilingual Education, Washington, D.C., April 13, 1989.

"English First Membership Letter." Washington, DC: English First.

English Plus Information Clearinghouse. "Statement of Purpose." *EPIC EVENTS* 1:1 (1988):2.

Epstein, Noel. *Language, Ethnicity, and the Schools: Policy Alternatives for Bilingual-Bicultural Education.* Washington, D.C.: Institute for Educational Leadership, 1977.

Fasold, Ralph. *The Sociolinguistics of Society.* New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984.

Ferguson, Charles A., "National Attitudes Toward Language Planning," In *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1979: Language in Public Life*, pp. 51-60. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1979.

Ferguson, Charles A., and Heath, Shirley Brice. *Language in the USA.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Ferguson, Charles A., and Huebner, Thom. *Foreign Language Instruction and Second Language Acquisition Research in the United States.* Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center at the Johns Hopkins University, January 1989.

First, Joan M. "Immigrant Students in U.S. Public Schools: Challenges with Solutions." *Phi Delta Kappan* 70:3 (November 1988): 205-210.

Fishbein, Martin. "A Consideration of Beliefs, and their Role in Attitude Measurement." In *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*, pp. 157-266. Edited by Fishbein. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967.

Fishbein, Martin, editor. *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967.

Fishbein, Martin, and Ajzen, Icek. *Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research.* Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1975.

Fishbein, Martin, and Raven, Bertram H. "The AB Scales: An Operational Definition of Belief and Attitude." In *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*, pp. 183-189. Edited by Fishbein. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967.

Fishman, Joshua A. "The American Dilemmas of Publicly Subsidized Pluralism" Source Unknown, n.d., pp. 264-268.

_____. *Non-English Language Resources of the United States: A Preliminary Return Visit.* New York: Yeshiva University, n.d.

_____. "Publicly Subsidized Pluralism: The European and the American Context." Paper Presented at the 66th Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC, August 28-September 3, 1958.

_____. *Language Loyalty in the United States*. The Hague: Mouton, 1966.

_____. *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1972.

_____. *Language In Sociocultural Change*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1972.

_____. *The Sociology of Language*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers. 1972.

_____. "Bilingual Education and the Future of Language Teaching and Language Learning in the United States." In *The Bilingual Child: Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes*, pp. 229-235. Edited by Simoes, Jr.. New York: Academic Press, 1976.

_____. "Positive Bilingualism: Some Overlooked Rationales and Forefathers." In *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1978: International Dimensions of Bilingual Education*, pp. 42-52. Edited by Alatis. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1978.

_____. "Language Policy: Past, Present, and Future." In *Language in the USA*, pp. 516-526. Edited by Ferguson and Heath. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

_____. "'English Only': Its Ghosts, Myths, and Dangers." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 74 (1988): 125-140.

_____. *Language & Ethnicity In Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1988.

_____. "Empirical Explorations of Two Popular Assumptions: Inter-Polity Perspective on the Relationships Between Linguistic Heterogeneity, Civil Strife and Per Capita Gross National Product." Paper Presented at the Meridian House International/US English Conference on Public Policy Issues in Bilingual Education, Washington, D.C., April 13, 1989.

Fishman, Joshua A.; Cooper, Robert L.; and Conrad, Andrew W. *The Spread of English: The Sociology of English as an Additional Language.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1977.

Fishman, Joshua A., and Markman, Barbara R. *The Ethnic Mother-Tongue-School in America: Assumptions, Findings, and Directory.* New York: Yeshiva University, October 1979.

FitzGerald, Frances. *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979.

Foster, Charles R., "Defusing the Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education." *Phi Delta Kappan* (January 1982): 342-344.

Frase Williams, Mary. "American Education and Federalism." In *Government in the Classroom: Dollars and Power in Education*, pp. 1-17. Edited by Frase Williams. New York: The Academy of Political Science, 1978.

Gallup, George. "Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools." *Phi Delta Kappan* 62 (September 1980): 33-48.

Gallup Organization, Inc. "U.S. ENGLISH/Gallup Public Opinion Survey." Princeton, NJ: The Gallup Organization, January 1991.

García, Ofelia, "Bilingualism in the United States: Present Attitudes in the Light of Past Policies." In *The English Language Today*, pp. 147-158. Edited by Greenbaum. New York: Pergamon Institute of English, 1985.

Gerli, E. Michael; Alatis, James E.; and Brod, Richard I.; editors. *Language in American Life: Proceedings of the Georgetown University Modern Language Association Conference, October 608, 1977, Washington, D.C.* Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1978.

Giles, Howard; Hewstone, Miles; and Ball, Peter. "Language Attitudes in Multilingual Settings: Prologue with Priorities." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 4 (1983): 81-100.

Glazer, Nathan. "The Process and Problems of Language-Maintenance: An Integrative Review." In *A Pluralistic Nation: the Language Issue in the United States*, pp. 32-43. Edited by Lourie and Conklin. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1978.

Gordon, Milton M. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Görlach, Manfred. "Comment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 97-104.

Gough, Pauline B. "Coping with a Flood." *Phi Delta Kappan* 70:3 (November 1988): 186.

Gray, Tracy. "Language Policy and Educational Strategies for Language Minority and Majority Students in the United States." Paper presented to the International Colloquium on Language Planning, Ottawa, Canada, May 25-29, 1986.

Greenbaum, Sidney, editor. *The English Language Today*. Elmsford, New York: Pergamon Press, 1985.

Grittner, Frank M. "Bandwagons Revisited: A Perspective on Movements in Foreign Language Education. In *New Perspectives and New Directions in Foreign Language Education*, pp. 9-43. Edited by Birckbichler. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company, 1990.

Grosjean, François. *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Gudykunst, William B., and Schmidt, Karen L. "Language and Ethnic Identity: An Overview and Prologue." In *Language and Ethnic Identity*, pp. 1-14. Edited by Gudykunst. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1988.

Gutiérrez, Veronica. "Language Attitudes of and Toward Spanish/English Bilinguals." ERIC Document ED 192 971, 1980.

Hakuta, Kenji. *Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986.

Hansen, Marcus Lee. *The Atlantic Migration 1607 - 1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1940.

Harrington, Michael. *The New American Poverty*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984.

Haugen, Einer. *Blessings of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987.

Heath, Shirley Brice. "Colonial Language Status Achievement: Mexico, Peru, and the United States." In *Language in Sociology*, pp. 49-92. Edited by Verdoodt and Kjolseth. Louvain: Editions Peeters, 1976.

_____. "Our Language Heritage: A Historical Perspective." In *The Language Connection: From the Classroom to the World*, pp. 23-52. Edited by Phillips. Skokie, IL: National Textbook Company, 1977.

_____. "Language Policies." *Society* 20 (May-June 1983): 56-63.

_____. "Social History." In *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives - Social Science*, pp. 53-72. Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1977.

Heath, Shirley Brice, and Krasner, Lawrence. "Comment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 157-162.

Heilman, Michael J., and Surena, Andre M. "Migration into the United States: Perceptions of and Responses to Controlled and Uncontrolled Migration." *International Migration* 21:2 (1983): 288-304.

Henry, William A. "Against a Confusion of Tongues," *Time* (June 13, 1983): 30-31.

Herberg, Will. *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1955.

Hernández-Chávez, Eduardo. "Language Maintenance, Bilingual Education, and Philosophies of Bilingualism in the United States." In *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1978: International Dimensions of Bilingual Education*, pp. 527-550. Edited by Alatis. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1978.

_____. "Language Policy and Language Rights in the United States: Issues in Bilingualism." In *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle*, pp. 45 - 56. Edited by Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1988.

Higham, John. *Send These to Me: Immigrants in Urban America - Revised Edition.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

_____. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988.

Hirsch, Jr., E. D. *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know.* New York: Vintage Books, 1987.

Hofstadter, Richard; Miller, William; and Aaron, Daniel, editors. *The American Republic, Volume One: To 1865.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1959.

_____. *The American Republic, Volume Two: Since 1865.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1959.

Hornberger, Nancy H. "Bilingual Education and English-Only: A Language-Planning Framework." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 508 (March 1990): 12-27.

Huddy, Leonie, and Sears, David O. "Qualified Public Support for Bilingual Education: Some Policy Implications." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 508 (March 1990): 119-134.

Huddy, Leonie; Sears, David O.; and Cardoza, Desdemona. "Public Attitudes Toward Bilingual Education." Paper Presented at the 92nd Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, August 24-28, 1984.

Hurtado, Aida, and Rodríguez, Raúl. "Language as a Social Problem: The Repression of Spanish in South Texas." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 10:5 (1989): 401-420.

Jessel, Levic. *The Ethnic Process: An Evolutionary Concept of Languages and Peoples.* The Hague: Mouton, 1977.

Judd, Elliot L. "The English Language Amendment: A Case Study on Language and Politics." *TESOL Quarterly* 21:1 (March 1987): 113-135.

Judge, Joseph. "Between Columbus and Jamestown: Exploring Our Forgotten Century." *National Geographic* 171:3 (March 1988): 330-362.

Katz, Daniel "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes." In *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*, pp. 457-468. Edited by Fishbein. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967.

Kellogg, John B. "Forces of Change." *Phi Delta Kappan* 70:3 (November 1988): 199-204.

Kelly, L. G. *25 Centuries of Language Teaching: 500 B.C. - 1969.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1969.

Kirschten, Dick. "Speaking English." *National Journal* (June 17, 1989): 1556-1561.

Kjolseth, Rolf. "Cultural Politics of Bilingualism." *Society* 20 (May-June 1983): 40-48.

Kloss, Heinz. "Comment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 169-176.

Kramsch, Claire J. *New Directions in the Teaching of Language and Culture.* Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center at the Johns Hopkins University, April 1989.

Krug, Mark. *The Melting of the Ethnics: Education of the Immigrants, 1880-1914.* Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1976.

Krus, David J., and Brazelton, Joan M. "Contributions to Psychohistory: VIII. Perspectives on Bilingual Education in the Austrian Empire and the United States of America: Is the Assumption of Temporal Catenation of Linguistic and Territorial Separatism Valid?" *Psychological Reports* 53:1 (August 1983): 247-254.

Krus, David J., and Stanley, Maureen A. "Validity of the Attitudes Toward Bilingual Education Scale with Respect to Group Discrimination." *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 45 (Autumn 1985): 693-698.

Lambert, Richard D. *Language Policy: An International Perspective.* Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center at the Johns Hopkins University, September 1990.

Lambert, William W., and Lambert, Wallace E. *Social Psychology.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Lambert, Wallace E., and Taylor, Donald M. "Cultural and Racial Diversity in the Lives of Urban Americans: The Hamtramck/Pontiac Study. Preliminary Report, April 1986.

_____. "Assimilation Versus Multiculturalism: The Views of Urban Americans. Summary Report, 1986.

_____. "Language Minorities in the United States: Conflicts around Assimilation and Proposed Modes of Accommodation." In *Ethnicity and Language*, pp. 58-89. Edited by Van Horne. WI: The University of Wisconsin System, Institute on Race and Ethnicity, 1987.

Landry, Walter. "Comment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 129-138.

Langdon, William Chauncy. *Everyday Things in American Life: 1607-1776.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937.

Lawrence, Gary C. "U.S. English Membership Profile." 1988.

Lehnen, Robert G. *American Institutions, Political Opinion & Public Policy.* Hinsdale, Illinois: The Dryden Press, 1976.

Leibowitz, Arnold H. "Educational Policy and Political Acceptance: The Imposition of English as the Language of Instruction in American Schools." ERIC Clearinghouse on Linguistics, March 1971.

_____. "Language and the Law: The Exercise of Political Power through Official Designation of Language." In *Language and Politics*, pp. 449-466. Edited by O'Barr and O'Barr. The Hague: Mouton, 1976.

Lewis, E. Glyn. "Bilingualism and Bilingual Education -- The Ancient World to the Renaissance." In *Frontiers of Bilingual Education,* pp. 22-93. Edited by Spolsky and Cooper. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1977.

_____. "The Morality of Bilingual Education." In *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1978: International Dimensions of Bilingual Education*, pp. 675-681. Edited by Alatis. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1978.

_____. "What are the International Dimensions of Bilingual Education?" In *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1978: International Dimensions of Bilingual Education*, pp. xi-xix. Edited by Alatis. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1978.

Llanes, José. "Notes on a Social Theory for Bilingual Education in the United States." In *Ethnoperspectives in Bilingual Education Research, Vol. II: Theory in Bilingual Education*, pp. 427-430. Edited by Padilla. Ypsilanti, MI: Eastern Michigan University, 1980.

Long, Thomas; Convey, John J.; and Chwalek, Adele R. *Completing Dissertations in the Behavioral Sciences and Education.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1985.

Lowrie, Barbara Woller, and Stein, Wendy. *Settlers in America.* Syracuse, NY: New Readers Press, 1977.

Lyons, James J. "The Educational Plight of Language-Minority Students." In *One Nation, Indivisible: The Civil Rights Challenge for the 1990s,* pp. 108-123. Washington, DC: Citizens Commission on Civil Rights, 1989.

_____. "The Past and Future Directions of Federal Bilingual-Education Policy." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 508 (March 1990): 66-80.

_____. "The View from Washington." *NABE NEWS* 14:6 (March 15, 1991): 1, 10-11, 16.

Macías, Reynaldo F. "Mexicano/Chicano Sociolinguistic Behavior and Language Policy in the United States." Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgetown University, August 1979.

_____. "Choice of Language as a Human Right-Public Policy Implications in the United States." In *Bilingual Education and Public Policy in the U.S., pp. 39-57.* Edited by Padilla. Ypsilanti, Michigan: Department of Foreign Languages and Bilingual Education, Eastern Michigan University, 1979.

_____. "Language and Ideology in the United States." *Social Education* (February 1985): 97-100.

MacKaye, Susannah. "California Proposition 63 and Public Perceptions of Language," CA: Department of Linguistics, Stanford University, 1987.

Mackey, William. "The Description of Bilingualism." *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 7:2 (Spring 1962): 45-45.

Marshall, David. "The Question of an Official Language: Language Rights and the English Language Amendment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 1-75.

_____. "Rebuttal Essay" *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 201-211.

McArthur, Tom. "Comment: Worried about Something Else." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 87-92.

McCarthy, Kevin F., and Valdez, R. Burclaga. *Current and Future Effects of Mexican Immigration in California.* Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, May 1986.

McDavid, Jr., Raven L., editor. *An Examination of the Attitudes of the NCTE Toward Language.* Champaign, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965.

McGuire, William J. "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change." In *The Handbook of Social Psychology, Second Edition*, pp. 136-314. Edited by Lindzey and Aronson. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.

McNett, Ian, editor. "Demographic Imperatives: Implications for Educational Policy." Report of the June 8, 1983 Forum on "The Demographics of Changing Ethnic Populations and their Implications for Elementary-Secondary and Postsecondary Educational Policy," sponsored by the American Council on Education, Forum of Educational Organization Leaders and the Institute for Educational Leadership.

Mikes, Melanie. "Comment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 153-156.

Millán, William G. "Comment: Undressing the English Language Amendment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 93-96.

Minaya-Rowe, Lilliana. "Bilingual Education." In *Ethnolinguistic Issues in Education,* pp. 106-110. Edited by García and Chávez Chávez. Texas: College of Education, Texas Tech University, 1988.

Mindel, Charles H., and Habenstein, Robert W., Editors. *Ethnic Families in America: Patterns and Variations*. New York: Elsevier Science Publishing Company, Inc., 1981.

Moffitt, Phillip. "America, Where are You Going." *Esquire Magazine* (May 1983): 7.

Molesky, Jean. "Understanding the American Linguistic Mosaic: A Historical Overview of Language Maintenance and Language Shift." In *Language Diversity: Problem or Resource?*, pp. 29-68. Edited by McKay and Wong. New York: Newbury House Publishers, 1988.

Morgan, Thomas B. "The Latinization of America: What Does It Mean When You Walk the Streets of Your Own Country and You Don't Understand a Word of the Language?" *Esquire Magazine* (May 1983): 47-56.

Morris, Milton D. *Immigration: The Beleaguered Bureaucracy.* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1985.

National Commission on Excellence in Education. *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform. A Report to the Nation and the Secretary of Education.* Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Education, April 1983.

National Council for Languages and International Studies. "Legislative Alert." July 31, 1991.

National Council of Teachers of English. "English as the Official Language" SLATE Starter Sheet, May 1988.

National Education Association. *Official English/English Only: More Than Meets the Eye*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, April 1988.

National Education Goals Panel. *The National Education Goals Report: Building a Nation of Learners.* Washington, DC: National Education Goals Panel, 1991.

"New York State Association of Foreign Language Teachers Quotable Quotes on the Value of Language Study." ERIC Document ED 096 859, Sept. 1974.

Nimmo, Dan D., and Bonjean, Charles M. *Political Attitudes & Public Opinion.* New York: David McKay Company, Inc. 1972.

Nunberg, Geofffrey. "Discussion Note: Linguists and the Official Language Movement." *Language* 65:3 (September 1989): 579-587.

Ogbu, John U. *Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective.* New York: Academic Press, Inc. 1978.

Oskamp, Stuart. *Attitudes and Opinions.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977.

Otheguy, Ricardo. "Thinking about Bilingual Education: a Critical Appraisal." *Harvard Educational Review* 52:3 (August 1982): 301-314.

"Our Children's Heritage and Culture." *PTA Today* 11:6 (April 1986).

Ovando, Carlos J. "Bilingual/Bicultural Education: Its Legacy and Its Future." *Phi Delta Kappan* 64:8 (April 1983): 564-568.

Padilla, Amado M., and Lindholm, Kathryn J. "The English Only Movement: Myths, Reality, and Implications for Psychology. Paper Prepared for the American Psychological Association by the Panel of Experts on English Only Legislation, June 1990.

Padilla, Raymond V. "A Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of Bilingual Education Policy Formation." Alexandria, VA: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, ED 217 719, 1982.

_____. "Articulating a Positive Orientation toward Bilingual Education." In *Theory, Technology and Public Policy on Bilingual Education*, pp. 353-364. Edited by Padilla. Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1983.

Panetta, Leon. "The Quiet Crisis of Global Competence." *Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages* 30:1 (Fall 1991):14-17.

Papademetriou, Demetrios G. "The Immigration Act of 1990: Overall Structure and Issues of Relevance to the Department of Labor." U.S. Department of Labor unpublished paper, December 1990.

Parker, William Riley. *The National Interest and Foreign Languages: A Discussion Guide and Work Paper for Citizen Consultations Initiated by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Department of State.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, April 1954.

_____. *The National Interest and Foreign Languages: A Discussion Guide and Work Paper for Citizen Consultations Initiated by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, Department of State.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, September 1961.

Paulston, Christina Bratt. "Linguistic Consequences of Ethnicity and Nationalism in Multilingual Settings," in *Language & Education in Multilingual Settings,* pp. 117-152. Edited by Spolsky. Clevedon, Avon, England: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1986.

_____. "Understanding Educational Policies in Multilingual States." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 508(March 1990): 38-47.

Perlmann, Joel. "Historical Legacies: 1984-1920. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 508(March 1990): 27-37.

Phillips, June K. "Language Instruction in the United States: Policy and Planning. In *New Perspectives and New Directions in Foreign Language Education,* pp.45-73. Edited by Birckbichler. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company, 1990.

Phillipson, Robert. "Linguicism: Structures and Ideologies in Linguistic Imperialism." In *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle,* pp. 339-358. Edited by Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1988.

Piatt, Bill. *?Only English? Law and Language Policy in the United States.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990.

Pietersen, Lieuwe. "Language Ideology-National Ideology-Bilingualism, The Frisian Case." In *Language in Sociology*, pp. 167-199. Edited by Verdoodt and Kjolseth. Louvain: Institut de Linguistique, 1976.

Plotnicov, Katherine Hager. "Language and the Education of Non-English Speaking Children." *Journal of Children in Contemporary Society* 15 (Spring 1983): 61-69.

Porter, Rosalie Pedalino. *Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education.* New York: Basic Books, 1990.

President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies. "Strength Through Wisdom: A Critique of U.S. Capability." Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979.

Rafferty, Max. "Bilingual Education: Hoax of the '80's." *The American Legion* (March 1981): 14-15; 38-40.

Ramírez, Arnulfo G. *Bilingualism Through Schooling: Cross Cultural Education for Minority and Majority Students.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1985.

Ravitch, Diane. *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980.* New York: Basic Books, 1983.

_____. "Diversity and Democracy: Multicultural Education in America. *American Educator* (Spring 1990): 16-20, 46-48.

Read, Allen Walker. "Bilingualism in the Middle Colonies, 1725 - 1775." *American Speech* 12 (1937): 93-99.

Rhodes, Nancy C., and Oxford, Rebecca L. *A National Profile of Foreign Language Instruction at the Elementary and Secondary School Levels.* Los Angeles: Center for Language Education and Research, 1988.

Ridge, Martin, editor. *The New Bilingualism: An American Dilemma.* Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1981.

Rokeach, Milton. *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values: a Theory of Organization and Change.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968.

Romaine, Suzanne. *Bilingualism.* New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989.

Ruiz, Richard, "Orientations in Language Planning." In *Language Diversity: Problem or Resource?*, pp. 3-26. Edited by McKay and Wong. New York: Newbury House Publishers, 1988.

Ryan, Ellen Bouchard; Giles, Howard; and Sebastian, Richard J. "An Integrative Perspective for the Study of Attitudes Toward Language Variation." In *Attitudes Toward Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts,* pp. 1-19. Edited by Ryan and Giles. London: Edward Arnold, 1982.

San Miguel, Guadalupe. "Tolerance and Language Policies in the Colonial Period, 1600s-1776: A Reassessment. Unpublished paper. University of California, September 11, 1990.

"Say It in English." *Newsweek* (February 20, 1989): 22-23.

Scheibe, Karl E. *Beliefs and Values.* NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970.

Schneider, Susan Gilbert. *Revolution, Reaction or Reform: The 1974 Bilingual Education Act.* New York: Las Americas Publishing Co., Inc., 1976.

Sears, David, and Huddy, Leonie. "Bilingual Education: Symbolic Meaning and Support among Non-Hispanics." Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, New York City, September 1, 1987 and at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 4, 1987.

Schlossman, Steven L. "Is There an American Tradition of Bilingual Education? German in the Public Elementary Schools, 1940-1919. *American Journal of Education* (February 1983): 139-186).

Shuman, R. Baird. "English Language in the Secondary School." In *The English Language Today,* pp. 3315-326. Edited by Greenbaum. Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press, 1985.

Shuy, Roger W., and Fasold, Ralph W., editors. *Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1973.

Simon, Paul. "Language and National Policy." In *Language in American Life: Proceedings of the Georgetown University-Modern Language Association Conference.* Edited by Gerli, Alatis, and Brod. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1977.

_____. *The Tongue-Tied American: Confronting the Foreign Language Crisis.* New York: Continuum, 1980.

Simon, Rita J. *Public Opinion and the Immigrant: Print Media Coverage, 1880- 1980.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1985.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. *Bilingualism or Not: The Education of Minorities.* Clevedon, Avon, England: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1981.

_____. "Multilingualism and the Education of Minority Children." In *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle*, pp. 9-44. Edited by Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1988.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove, and Cummins, Jim, editors. *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle.* Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, Ltd., 1988.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove, and Phillipson, Robert. "Wanted! Linguistic Human Rights." Reprint of ROLIG-papir 44, Roskilde Universitetscenter, Lingvistgruppen, Roskilde, Denmark. January 1989, Reprint October 1989.

Snow, Catherine E., and Hakuta, Kenji. "The Costs of Monolingualism." Paper Presented at the Harvard University Institute on Bilingual Education, November 1987.

St. Clair, Robert N. "From Social History to Language Attitudes." In *Attitudes Toward Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts,* pp. 164-174. Edited by Ryan and Giles. London: Edward Arnold, 1982.

Stein, Colman Brez. *Sink or Swim: The Politics of Bilingual Education.* New York: Praeger, 1986.

Swanson, William. "The American Way: Is Bilingualism a Threat, or Pure Americana?" *TWA Ambassador* (March 1986): 62-66.

Tajfel, Henri, editor. *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Thompson, Frank V. *Schooling of the Immigrant*. Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1971.

Topping, Brett, editor. *Ethnic Heritage and Language Schools in America*. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1988.

Tucker, G. Richard. "Implications of Canadian Research for Promoting a Language Competent American Society." In *The Fergusonian Impact: Vol 2: Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language*, pp. 361-369. Edited by Fishman et al. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1986.

_____. "Encouraging the Development of Bilingual Proficiency for English-speaking Americans." Paper Presented at the Harvard University Institute on Bilingual Education, November 1987.

Turner, John C. "Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group." In *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, pp. 15-40. Edited by Tajfel. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

United States Bureau of the Census. *Thirteenth Census of the United States. Population: 1910. Inability to Speak English*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1914.

_____. *Thirteenth Census of the United States. Population: 1910. Mother Tongue of the Foreign White Stock*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1914.

_____. *Fourteenth Census of the United States. Population: 1920. Inability to Speak English*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1923.

_____. *Fourteenth Census of the United States. Population: 1920. Mother Tongue of the Foreign White Stock*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1923.

_____. *Fifteenth Census of the United States. Population: 1930. Inability to Speak English*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933.

_____. *Fifteenth Census of the United States. Population: 1930. Mother Tongue of the Foreign White Stock.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933.

_____. *Sixteenth Census of the United States. Population: 1940. Nativity and Parentage of the White Population.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

_____. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part 1.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

_____. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part 2.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.

_____. *1990 Census Profile: Race and Hispanic Origin.* Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of the Census) June 1991.

United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service. *United States History, 1600-1987.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987.

Vega, José E. *Education, Politics, and Bilingualism in Texas.* Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1983.

Veltman, Calvin. "Comment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 177-182.

_____. *The Future of the Spanish Language in the United States.* Washington, DC: Hispanic Policy Development Project, 1988.

Vobejda, Barbara. "The Changing Face of America: The Heartland Pulses with New Blood." *The Washington Post* (August 11, 1991): A1, A18-19.

Waggoner, Dorothy. "Foreign born children in the United States in the Eighties." *NABE JOURNAL* 12:1 (Fall 1987): 23-50.

_____. "Language Minorities in the United States in the 1980s: The Evidence from the 1980 Census." In *Language Diversity: Problem or Resource?*, pp. 69-108. Edited by McKay and Wong. New York: Newbury House Publishers, 1988.

Williams, Frederick. "The Identification of Linguistic Attitudes," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 3 (1974):21-32.

_____. *Explorations of the Linguistic Attitudes of Teachers.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1976.

Wong, Sau-ling Cynthia. "Educational Rights of Language Minorities." In *Language Diversity: Problem or Resource?*, pp. 367-386. Edited by McKay and Wong. New York: Newbury House Publishers, 1988.

Woolard, Kathryn. "Comment." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 191-196.

Yardley, Jonathan. "Bilingualism and the Backlash." *The Washington Post* (July 28, 1986).

Ziff, Larzer. *The American 1890s: Life and Times of a Lost Generation.* New York: The Viking Press, 1966.